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# Language Use and Language Attitudes of Students in a Bilingual Immersion Programme in Hong Kong

IP, SOOK KUEN JOANNA

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### **Abstract**

A study was carried out to understand the language use and language attitudes of the Cantonese speaking Chinese students of a Hong Kong secondary school which used English as the medium of instruction. Questionnaires were administered and group interviews were conducted to collect the views of these students. Their views were considered and interpreted in the context of the school and the Hong Kong education system regarding the policy of the education medium. For these bilingual students, English is mostly used in the classrooms. Cantonese is used with friends and at home. They have positive attitudes towards the English language and they try to develop various strategies to cope with the difficulties in the English immersion programme. They are motivated to learn English because it is helpful to their studies and related to better career opportunities. The results show that this bilingual immersion programme can help students develop their self-esteem and learning strategy. Perhaps more students can be admitted to this kind of immersion programme in the future.

### **Acknowledgements**

I would like to express my most sincere thanks to Professor M. Byram for his patience and valuable guidance. I am also grateful to my colleagues who have helped me one way or the other in the completion of my thesis. Thanks must also be extended to the students who expressed their views either in the questionnaires or the interviews, without them this study would not have been possible.

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## **1. Introduction**

In this study, a particular situation will be explored -- the bilingual situation in Hong Kong, particularly, the bilingual immersion junior secondary programme, -- from the point of view of its learners. Bilingualism is related to language planning. The status of a language may be changed due to the policies of the government. The government may ask the people to speak one dominant language, or let people maintain their own languages, it can adopt an indigenous or an international language as the official language (Hoffmann 1991). However, when adopting a certain language policy for education, is it necessary to consider the learners' point of view, their feelings and their experience, so that a better programme can be planned for them?

The purpose of my study is to gain an understanding of the experience of some Cantonese speaking (a variety of Chinese) Chinese students of a Hong Kong secondary school which uses English as the medium of instruction. The aim is to consider the views of the students, and by interpreting their views, understand the role of English in the education system in Hong Kong.

As the issue of whether English should be used as the medium of instruction in Hong Kong is still under debate and there are so many uncertainties about the policy, the findings from this study can help the school to determine whether to apply for the continuing use of English medium or to shift to the use of written Chinese and Cantonese as



medium.

Bilingual education in various forms is very widely spread in the world but the study of learners' experience is comparatively rare, the present study will also be a contribution to the better understanding of bilingual education in general. At the same time, this study will complement the literature on immersion education by providing a case study and also putting emphasis on students' views.

It is hoped that the students will share their language experiences and reveal what they think about the present immersion programme. In this way, their viewpoint can be taken into consideration in the future decisions about the language education policy in Hong Kong, or at least in the school under study. Furthermore, the information and the understanding of the students' viewpoints in this study can be used by other researchers working on this topic.

### **1.1 Language use in Hong Kong**

Hong Kong, situated on the southern shores of China, used to be a British colony from 1842 - 1997. English was the only official language up to 1974. Chinese (spoken Cantonese and standard written Chinese) was made the co-official language in 1974. Since the 1997 handover of sovereignty from Britain to China, the language policy has been "trilingual and biliterate". Cantonese, Putonghua and English are the official spoken languages, while standard written Chinese and English are official written

languages.

For the past hundred years, Hong Kong has developed from a society of diglossia without bilingualism (Fishman 1980) -- the ruling elite speaking English, the majority speaking Chinese -- to a society of diglossia with bilingualism, this means most people can speak English and Chinese. Following Ferguson's (1959) description of diglossia, the situation in Hong Kong is as follows. The majority of the people use Cantonese (a variety of Chinese used by people living in the southern part of China) in the home and family. 98% of the population are ethnic Chinese, and 88.7% of the population use Cantonese as their everyday language according to the 1996 Population By-census (Benson 1997). For schooling, Cantonese is the language for primary schools (students aged from six to twelve). About 30% of the secondary schools (students aged from twelve to seventeen) use English and about 70% use Cantonese. For the media, there are radio stations, TV channels, newspapers and magazines in both languages, but the majority is in spoken Cantonese and written Chinese. English is usually used in business and commerce, except trade with China for which Cantonese and Putonghua are used. English is important because it is the international language for export, commerce, banking, insurance, aviation, shipping and tourism (Gibbons 1983, Bolton 2002). Social and cultural activities are usually in Cantonese. Communication with relatives and friends is mostly in Cantonese. Correspondence with government departments can be both

English and Chinese since both languages are official languages.

The majority of the Hong Kong residents speak Cantonese as their mother tongue. The 2001 census indicated 96.1% of the population can speak Cantonese. For English it is 43%, and Putonghua 34.1% (Bolton 2002). Although Putonghua has official language status, its status is quite different from that in other Chinese cities, where Putonghua is actually used in officialdom. The Chief Executive has delivered his policy speeches in Cantonese since 1997, the Legislative Councillors and government officials speak in Cantonese, not Putonghua, in the Legislative Council, and English and Cantonese continue to be used in the courts. The media are dominated by Cantonese. Very few schools use Putonghua as the medium of instruction, which is different from the language education policy of the People's Republic of China, which promotes the national language, Putonghua, by stipulating the use of Putonghua in schools. This is why, generally speaking, a Hong Kong bilingual is someone who speaks Cantonese as the mother tongue and speaks English in certain domains, particularly the domain of work, which is usually trade and business where the work involves international links. However, with the growing trade relationship between Hong Kong and China, and the fact that Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Region of China since the handover in 1997, there is a possibility that the Hong Kong bilingual will soon develop into a Hong Kong trilingual due to the need in society.

Cantonese-English code-mixing is very common in Hong Kong. Chan (1998) analysed code-mixing data from Hong Kong bilinguals and used the model of matrix language (Cantonese, in this case) and embedded language (English) to explain the code-mixing. He thinks that code-mixing is the natural result of language contact and is a kind of spontaneous behaviour. Luke (1998) distinguished between two types of mixing -- expedient (pragmatically motivated) or orientational (socially motivated).

However, code-mixing in the classroom has been condemned by the government and was partly blamed for the falling standard of education. Many studies (Johnson 1983) have been carried out about the use of mixed code as instructional language before the compulsory policy regarding MOI (medium of instruction). This MOI policy is very strict about the use of mixed-code in the classroom.

“The MOI Policy therefore seeks to:

- ♦ encourage secondary schools to use Chinese as MOI;
- ♦ discourage the use of mixed code, i.e. a mixture of Chinese and English, in teaching and learning ...” (EMB 2003, p.1)

Inspectors have been sent to EMI schools to ensure that mixed code is not used by teachers. It is a policy to rid teachers of the habit of code-mixing in classroom language. Of course the government cannot stop students from using mixed-code among themselves. Whether the students prefer the mixed-code in their daily language use will be looked

at in this study.

## **1.2 Educational policy regarding language in Hong Kong**

Hong Kong was a British colony from 1842 to 1997. From the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, the government developed English schools for some of the population. The main concern of the government was to ensure an elite of local people with good English to help with the administration. This was the time when there was diglossia without bilingualism with English used among the westerners and a small number of local people, and Cantonese and Chinese used by the majority of the population. In 1935, the Burney Report recommended a balance between Chinese education, i.e. schools which used Chinese as medium of instruction, and the English system (Fu 1975). After the Second World War, there was greater government participation in Chinese education. In 1945, the government declared that the government-assisted schools should use Chinese as the medium of instruction, however, the policy was not enforced due to the opposition of the schools (Sweeting 1995).

In the 1960s, there was an approximately equal number of Chinese schools, called Middle Schools, where spoken Cantonese and written Chinese was used as the medium of instruction, while English was only studied as a subject, and English schools called Anglo-Chinese Schools, where English was studied as a subject and also used as the medium of

instruction. In 1973, the Board of Education issued a green paper on the expansion of secondary school education in Hong Kong. One of the recommendations was that Chinese was to be used as the language of instruction in the lower forms of secondary schools. However, in 1974, although Chinese became the official language, when the white paper came out, it was up to the individual school to decide whether to use English or Chinese (Fu 1975). This policy of *laissez faire* lasted for more than two decades.

Most schools decided to be Anglo-Chinese schools due to a strong parental preference. Since English is a language that enjoys high status in Hong Kong because of its link with good life time earnings, higher competitive power and upward social mobility, parents prefer their children to attend the English medium schools. As a result, there was an uneven development of the two streams of schools, the Chinese and English schools. During this period, the number of students enrolled in Chinese medium schools declined from 50,000 to around 20,000 but the number of students enrolled in English medium schools rose from 10,000 to around 400,000 (Sweeting 1995). The introduction of universal education in 1978 made the use of English as the medium of instruction more difficult. In most schools, teachers used mixed code as the language of instruction.

In November 1982, a report -- "A Perspective on Education in Hong Kong" was published. The international panel reviewed the education



situation in Hong Kong and described the use of English as medium of instruction as a 'lamentable' situation. The basic issue was whether it was suitable to use English as medium of instruction as Hong Kong is basically a monolingual society according to the panel. The panel also pointed out the dilemma behind this choice of language of instruction. If English were chosen, there would be a guarantee of competent English speakers but the education of the majority would be jeopardised. If Chinese were chosen, Hong Kong could not enjoy the advantage in international trade and this might lead to economic decline (Hong Kong Government 1982).

The Education Commission published its first report in 1984. The basic belief of the Commission -- "all other things being equal, teaching and learning would be generally more effective if the medium of instruction were the mother tongue." (Education Commission 1984 p.3) -- however, did not lead to a policy of mother tongue education. Schools were to choose their own medium of instruction. In 1986, the government announced the policy of 'positive discrimination' for schools changing to Chinese medium instruction. Instead of mandating the use of mother tongue, the government would only encourage schools to do so. Johnson (1993) described this as "a divergence between language policy and language practice". By September 1996, of the 300+ secondary schools in Hong Kong, only 74 were Chinese medium schools. This means the majority of the schools were considered "English" schools.

Whether English was actually used was another matter.

The government was urged by academics as early as 1986 to make mother tongue education mandatory, for example Johnson (1986, p.64) says, "The Education Commission should have recommended that teaching through the medium of Chinese be made mandatory." The problem at that time was that as there was expansion in secondary education, students of various abilities were found. As the schools were unwilling to shift to Chinese medium, many students lost interest and this led to various types of problems.

The first change in the government attitude of laissez-faire was reflected in the Education Commission Report Number 4 (1990). Students would be streamed into English or Chinese medium secondary schools based on their assessment in Primary 5 and 6 (Evans, Jones, Rusmin, Cheung 1998). In the Education Department circular to schools in March 1997 -- "Arrangements for Firm Guidance on Secondary Schools' Medium of Instruction" -- all schools had to use Chinese as the medium of instruction for their 1998 F.1 intake. If schools wished to use English, they would have to apply for it. This means that some schools would still be allowed to use English as the medium of instruction. Three criteria were used to vet applications from schools. The first criterion is the language standard of the student-intake. They must be the top 40% of the Chinese and English subject groups. The top 40% in one subject or top 50% in another is also acceptable. The second is that the

teachers teaching content subjects should be able to conduct lessons in English effectively. The third criterion is that the school can provide bridging programmes to help students to switch to EMI learning (Tsui et al 1999).

After a lot of heated debates, protests from parents, appeals from schools, 114 schools among the 400 secondary schools were to remain as English-medium schools. The others had to use Chinese (Cantonese) as the medium of instruction.

This streaming policy was built on the premise that Hong Kong needs an English-speaking work-force for its economic development. And it is better for the majority children to have mother tongue education. However, in a way, it reinforces the idea that English medium education is better than Chinese-medium education. In September 2000, a circular to the schools stipulated that the medium of instruction arrangements for S1 to S3 would remain unchanged up to 2003/04 school year. For S4 and S5, the Chinese schools can change to use English for some subjects and some classes. For S6 and S7, all schools may make their own decisions.

It can be seen that the education language policy in Hong Kong is still under review (EMB 2003) and it cannot be said firmly whether Cantonese, Putonghua or English will be used as the medium of instruction from 2004 onwards. In a consultation document issued in March 2005, the government proposes a similar MOI policy. The streaming policy will remain with some changes to the three criteria.

And more English may be allowed in Chinese medium schools.

### **1.3 The Hong Kong model of immersion**

The Hong Kong model is of the late immersion type. It is akin to the European School model of bilingual education as described by Baetens Beardsmore (1993). English is taught as a subject in primary schools before it is used as the medium of instruction. In secondary schools, it is also taught as a subject besides being used as the medium of instruction. Similar to the European models, the Hong Kong teachers are bilingual but they are not native speakers of the target language. The way the pupils perceive this idea of having to speak to teachers in a second language will be investigated in the present study. The question of whether they use Chinese with their teachers will also be looked into.

The second question to be addressed is whether students use English with their peers, either inside or outside classrooms. This is because the Hong Kong student population is homogeneous in the sense that all the students speak Cantonese. There are no native student speakers of English as is the case in European Schools. Whereas the European students have to interact with their peers in the L2 (Baetens-Beardsmore 1993), it is not necessary for the Hong Kong students to use a lingua franca to communicate. It will be found out whether it is a common practice for them to speak in English to their peers.

Baetens Beardsmore noted the importance of the impact of the

language outside the school on the language learning of the students. In this study, the language used outside school will also be investigated. The use of English and Chinese as reported by the students will be noted in comparison with what the policy-makers say. This is important because it may affect how the programmes should be designed in the future.

The study of immersion, as a sub-field of bilingualism, cannot be dissociated from other topics like personal identity, culture and ethnicity, biculturalism and multiculturalism (Lambert 1990). The European Schools support the development of the child's first language and cultural identity. Children of different language background study in harmony. They are secure in their own culture (Baker 1996). The students in Hong Kong, as they learn a second language and also learn through it, may or may not be secure in their own culture. Whether these students have a secure cultural identity will also be explored.

On the other hand, there are people in Hong Kong who support the use of mother tongue as medium of instruction. This is based on the Unesco report that mother tongue education is the best for the development of children. (Unesco 1953)—every child has a rightful claim to mother-tongue education. Research has also shown that using the home language as medium is beneficial to the child (Corson 1990). The students' attitude towards using Chinese as the medium of instruction will be explored.

As Canada has run immersion programmes for about forty years and

it is the best researched approach, it is worthwhile comparing the Canadian model and the Hong Kong model. The Canadian model of immersion is mainly the early immersion type. The students are mainly children from middle class families, with voluntary entry and the parents work hard to make the programme successful (Fasold 1984). Canadian immersion programmes are mainly attended by majority English speaking children learning French, it is pluralistic and promotes additive bilingualism (Roberts 1995). Pluralistic means it affirms individual and group language rights. Additive means the students maintain their first language and acquire their second language (Lambert 1975). As suggested by Cummins, "... students add a second language to their intellectual toolkit while continuing to develop conceptually and academically in their first language." (Cummins 1998 p.2) The Hong Kong model is the late immersion type. The first language is also preserved and the aim is also that of additive bilingualism. The students are centrally allocated according to the parents' choices and students of different socio-economic status have the same right in the allocation. Parents have no specific role to play in making the immersion programme successful directly but their attitude is generally positive and supports their children in their learning of English. The degree of parental support will also be investigated in this study.

#### **1.4 The Educational setting and the learners**

The group of students under this study comes from an English medium school on Hong Kong Island. It is one of the 114 schools permitted by the government to carry out English medium instruction for its students in 1998. It is a subsidized school. This means the funding of the school comes from the government but the management of the school is in the hands of the management committee which usually entrusts the principal with the daily running of the school in compliance with the Education Ordinance and the Code of Aid. This method of management is typical of most of the schools in Hong Kong. This implies that the school is bound by the language policy of the government.

The students are around twelve years old and in the first year of secondary education. This is typical of the bilingual immersion programme in public sector schools in Hong Kong—a late immersion. These students have been allocated to this EMI school through central allocation which is based on parental choice. The allocation is operated on the system that parents put the schools of their areas in an order of preference and the allocation is based on the students' academic achievement in primary 5 or 6. As the central allocation is carried out by the Education and Manpower Bureau, neither the parents nor the schools have a direct decision on the choice of schools or students.

The pupils speak Cantonese as their mother tongue and English as a second language. Some of the parents are bilingual, whereas some speak

Cantonese only. Of the 55 teachers in the school, 54 are native Cantonese speakers, only one is a native English speaker. This means that nearly all the teachers are bilingual teachers. English is used as the medium of instruction for all subjects except for the subjects Chinese Language, Chinese History and Putonghua. This means that about 20% of the instructional time is in Chinese while 80% is in English. All the textbooks and examinations are in English. The school tries to create an English environment for the students, all the notices, posters, assemblies and announcements are in English. It is hoped that this study can find out what the students think about this immersion arrangement, what their perceived difficulties and preferences are.



## **2. Literature Review**

In this chapter, findings from immersion studies and language attitude studies will be discussed to illustrate the theoretical and research background for the present study. The findings from the present study have to be viewed from the context of these previous studies. It is hoped that the present study can help to contribute to this rich repertoire of bilingual education researches.

### **2.1 Immersion**

“Immersion is a form of bilingual education in which students who speak the language of the majority of the population receive part of their instruction through the medium of a second language and part through their first language.” (Genesee 1987 p.1) Edwards (1994) classifies “immersion” programmes as a variety of maintenance bilingual education. It is for majority children with secure cultural identity and first language, the purpose of the immersion is for acquiring a fuller second language competence. According to Artigal (1991), the focus of the immersion approach is on the communication of meaningful content. The second language is learned through actual use in content subjects. The language is learned while the focus is on the meaning, and the learners receive intensive exposure to the target language (Read 1996). Artigal (1993) delineates five requisites for immersion programmes. First, the mother tongue should have high status in the society. Second, pupils should

have a positive attitude and motivation. Third, there should be bilingual teachers. Fourth, teachers should be trained to have affective communication with the pupils. Fifth, development in the first language is also maintained.

In this study, the language use in classrooms by the immersion students in Hong Kong will be looked at, and for this reason the findings of immersion in Canada are important since this is the best established and researched approach to immersion. Immersion bilingual education can be categorized according to the age the child starts the programme and the amount of time spent on immersion. Using the age factor: there are early (kindergarten or infant stage), middle (9-10 years old) and late (secondary) immersion. Using the amount of time to categorise, total immersion means 100% in the second language for the beginning and reducing to 50% by the time of finishing high school. Partial immersion provides close to 50% use of the second language throughout the programme.

Immersion in Canada started in 1965. It was started in St. Lambert School in Montreal as a reaction to the low efficiency of learning a second language as a subject in Canadian schools at that time. English speaking children were put in French immersion programmes to become bilingual and bicultural. French was used as the medium of instruction in the early grades. About 6% of the Canadian school population now participates in this kind of immersion programme. Cummins (2003) describes this French immersion programme as enrichment bilingual education. The

purpose is additive bilingualism. The purpose is to add a second language to the students' repertory of skills. The reasons for the success of Canadian French immersion programmes are: first, the two languages English and French are the majority languages in Canada. Second, it is optional. Third, children are allowed to use their home language. Fourth, the teachers are bilingual. Fifth, most of the students start as monolinguals. Sixth, they have the same curriculum as students of non-immersion programmes (Baker 1996).

Immersion programmes are built on the concept that, for children, cognitive and language development can go together at the same time. Content learning is the most effective context for learning a second language. The immersion classroom can provide a meaningful, purposeful social and academic context for language learning. Content learning is also a motivational and cognitive basis for language learning (Snow, Met and Genesee 1989). For immersion programmes, the emphasis is on content outcomes. It is different from language-driven approaches where the content is only a vehicle for learning a language. Immersion is the content-driven approach, where language is the vehicle for learning the content. It is a kind of intensive language learning but the purpose of the course is more on the content. It is efficient in that students gain content and language skills at the same time (Met 2000). The rationale for immersion also comes from Krashen's model that a sufficient comprehensible input facilitates second language learning (Hauptmen,

Wesche and Ready 1988). It is based on the theory that the acquisition of language is facilitated by the integration of content in a non-threatening environment. Learners can acquire a language by concentrating on the meaning, not the form of the language. With sufficient comprehensible input, learners can progress without grammatical lessons (Krashen 1981b). Swain (1986) also emphasizes the concept of comprehensible output, this means that the students have to use the target language actively. Competence in the second language can be achieved if learners have to negotiate meaning. Genesee (1987) finds that students can learn the content and at the same time develop significant levels of second language proficiency. Investigations by Genesee (1994) show that it is better to teach the second language integrated, not isolated. The mastery of academic content is important in immersion programmes. "Immersion is a specific type of integrated second language instruction -- one that focuses on the acquisition of language for academic purpose." (Genesee 1994 p.3) The emphasis is on the learning of the content material, not just focusing on the language (Swain and Lapkin 1982). Immersion can work because the learners can understand the language through the use of linguistic, paralinguistic, situational cues or world knowledge (Swain 1985).

Immersion has been carried out in different countries for different reasons. In Canada, it is the parents' preference that their children can speak French (Swain and Lapkin 1982). There is also immersion in

Ireland and Wales, but here it is for the purpose of the maintenance of a heritage language (Cummins 1978, Baker 1992). Dorian (1981), in her study of Scottish Gaelic, found six reasons for being a Gaelic speaker: tradition, local integration, abstract principle, subjective aesthetic, operational, and exclusionary. This is another example of heritage language maintenance. In England, immersion provides enrichment programmes for pupils (Read 1996). In Australia, the aim of immersion programmes is for additive bilingualism (de Courcy and Burston 2000). In Hungary, immersion programmes are also run for the purpose of additive bilingualism (Duff 1997). In Hong Kong, the parents prefer their children to learn English because it is generally believed that English is the key to future success and higher social status (Johnson 1997). In this study, it will be investigated what the pupils perceive as the reasons for participating in an immersion programme and how they see this arrangement.

Many studies have been carried out about immersion programmes. As reported by Lapkin, Swain and Shapson (1990), the research in the 1970s concentrates on the programme outcomes, the research in the 1980s deals with administrative arrangements, instructional aspects and qualitative assessment of L<sub>2</sub> skills. They proposed the study of the students' own perception of their own French language abilities as the agenda for the 1990s. Swain (1996) reported that evaluation in the 1970s and 80s on immersion programmes investigated mainly three aspects,

1. how much content was learnt,
2. how much first language skills were developed,
3. how much French was learnt.

For example, Harley, Hart and Lapkin (1986) find that immersion students not only gain proficiency in French, but also become more sensitive to the grammar of English.

A majority of immersion studies in Canada and elsewhere concentrate on the comparison of the language proficiency of students who have learned through the immersion method and those who have not. As reported by Arzamendi and Genesee (1997), studies in the Basque country revealed that the students, whether they study in the Spanish or Basque schools, have similar proficiency in Spanish, which is the major language outside school. However, students who study in Basque immersion schools have higher proficiency in Basque than students from other types of schools (Gabina, Gorostidi and Iruretagoiena 1986, Sierra and Olaziregi 1989 and 1991). This is another support for the effectiveness of the immersion programmes, i.e. the L<sub>1</sub> development will not suffer while the L<sub>2</sub> can be developed. It was also found that the Basque language skills were affected by the students' use of Basque with the teacher outside the classrooms, the number of hours of instruction in Basque, the native language of the teacher and the teachers' expectations concerning the programme outcomes. This shows that L<sub>2</sub> development in immersion programmes is related to educational factors. Lebrun and

Baetens Beardemore (1993), reported an evaluation of the French immersion programme for Luxembourg students. They found that the test results were similar to the Canadian and European School results. The achievement in French, which is an L<sub>3</sub> for the students, were accounted for by the multilingual context outside school, the chance of using French outside classrooms and parents' knowledge of French. Other factors included the self-initiated use of French and attitude towards French. They concluded that a three language policy in education can be successful as is the case of Luxembourg.

Genesee (1984) summarized the studies of the linguistic aspects of immersion programmes as examining of three main issues: effect on English language skills, effect on academic skills and effect on the development of L<sub>2</sub> skills (as described in Hamers and Blanc 1989). In general, immersion programmes are found to have positive results on children's learning—including L<sub>2</sub> skills and academic skills. When the academic achievement scores of the students on the French immersion programme and those in the regular English programmes were compared, they have equivalent levels of achievement (Swain and Lapkin 1982).

However, in the Canadian studies, immersion students do not demonstrate native-speaker productive competence in their second language. Swain (1986) suggests that it is because their comprehensible output is limited. They are not given chances to use the target language in the classroom, just like other content classrooms. Also, they are only

required to make themselves understood by the teachers and peers. Genesee (1994) reports that immersion students are better at receptive skills i.e. listening and reading, than production skills i.e. speaking and writing. He proposes that the possible explanation is that in the immersion classroom, the students are not engaged in extended discourse and they have few chances to speak or initiate conversation.

The advantage of the immersion method is that it will enable the students to acquire a second language while they are learning the subject content (Cummins 1998). Recent studies have once again shown that the immersion and non-immersion students in Ontario performed similarly in areas of reading, writing and mathematics (Turnbull, Lapkin and Hart 2001). The students' ability to transfer mathematics skills from one language to another has been reported in Australia and Canada (de Courcy and Burston 2000, Bournot-Trites and Reeder 2001). That is also the goal of the English medium schools in Hong Kong. The acquisition of English should not be at the expense of the learning of subject content. However, a study in Hong Kong (Marsh, Hau and Kong 2000) has shown that late immersion has negative effects on subjects like History, Geography and Science, though there are positive effects on English. In this study, the pupils will be asked about whether they think the use of English is an advantage or a hindrance to their studies. The present study examines pupils' experience and perception of the immersion programme, the advantages and disadvantages of immersion as reflected by the



immersion pupils, not a study of the test results.

The students on immersion programmes have been reported to have normal development in academic, cognitive and social domains (Genesee 1987, Lambert and Tucker 1972, Swain and Lapkin 1982). Socially disadvantaged students can also benefit from immersion programmes, not only the students from middle class backgrounds (Holobow, Genesee and Lambert 1991). Immersion was reported to be successful even at the university level. Like the students at primary and secondary level, university students were successful in subject-matter learning and language skills. They were more ready and determined to use the second language out of class (Burger, Wesche and Migneron 1997). Hauptman, Wesche and Ready (1988) reported sheltered courses at the University of Ottawa, in which second language speakers took a subject course in a second language. They reported significant language gains for these ESL or FSL students. Their result in the subject-content mastery is the same as the first language students. The students also reported more positive attitudes towards the second language.

Genesee (1987) reports that French immersion students are more comfortable and confident when speaking French with Francophones than the students who study French as a subject. Van der Keilen (1995) finds that the French immersion students have a more positive attitude towards the French language, the French people and their culture than the students who study French as a subject. Their motivations to learn the language

are much stronger. However, the positive attitude and high motivation do not lead to more direct contact with members of the French community, they only lead to more passive contacts e.g. watching more French television.

Besides student performance, instructional options for immersion classrooms have been studied (Harley 1993). Immersion teachers usually restrict the language forms they use in the classroom, the variety is much less than L<sub>2</sub> classrooms (Swain 1988). Based on his study of Canadian immersion classrooms, Genesee (1994) proposes the following practices. First, it is better to integrate language and content. Second, students should be involved in active discourse. Third, language development should be systematically integrated with academic development.

Of course, like any other programmes, immersion programmes are not without problems. There are two main problems: firstly, the students' speaking and writing skills in French are below native-speaker norms (Genesee 1987). Secondly, there is a high drop out rate (Cummins 1995). To solve this problem, Cummins suggested earlier introduction of the English Language Arts.

Only a small number of the researches on immersion programmes are focused on the study of immersion students' perception and experience. Foster (1998) used semi-structured interviews to find out about students' reasons for choosing French immersion programmes, their perception and memories associated with immersion instruction, their commitment to

continue with French immersion. From the results, she drew a profile of the successful immersion students. They are confident in their own language proficiency and their ability to learn the core subjects in French and they attach importance to their group identity.

MacFarlan (2001) interviewed Grade 6 French immersion students who joined an exchange programme. She studied the students' reasons for studying the L<sub>2</sub>, their expectations about the exchange and their attitudes towards the experience. She suggested supplementing immersion classrooms with contact exchange programmes so that students can be involved in social contact with L<sub>1</sub> peers.

In Australia, Berthold (1995) carried out two surveys in 1988 and 1992. They were longitudinal studies of the attitudes, thoughts and responses of adolescent immersion students. The purpose was to look at the immersion programmes through the eyes of the students. For the Australian students, the most significant reason for joining the immersion programme was that it was intellectually challenging. The other reasons were to get a good job and for travelling overseas.

The present study will augment this rather small number of studies of immersion students' perception and experience and look at a different set of questions in the context of Hong Kong.

## **2.2 Language use**

Language use is investigated in the present study because in

Canadian studies (Tarone and Swain 1995) it was found that pupils avoided using L<sub>2</sub> in peer-peer interactions when they move to higher primary grade levels. They suggested that this is because the L<sub>2</sub> these students learned is more of the formal and academic style. The students need a more vernacular style for peer-peer interaction and that is why they resort back to their L<sub>1</sub>. It will be investigated when the students prefer to use the second language and whether they are under social pressure to use or not to use the language.

Abudarham (1987) points out that language use depends on socioeconomic factors such as nationality status, language used by parents, attitudes, cultural and political forces. It also depends on other factors: success with which the language users are able to cope with a second language, whether one language is dominant, their linguistic independence and success in either of the languages, motivation for use of the first and second language. Cummins (1979, 2000) suggests the interdependence hypothesis. It proposes that the level of the second language proficiency attained by a child is correlated with the level of his/her first language proficiency. Since there is language proficiency transfer, the child with a better L<sub>1</sub> competence will make stronger progress in L<sub>2</sub>. He proposes that if there is enough exposure to L<sub>2</sub> and adequate motivation to learn the L<sub>2</sub>, transfer of L<sub>1</sub> proficiency will occur (Cummins 1981).

Based on analysis of language acquisition data, Cummins (1979) proposes two theoretical constructs, BICS (Basic Interpersonal

Communicative Skills) and CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) to draw educators' attention to the fact that second language learners may still fail in academic work despite their fluency in the L<sub>2</sub>. This is because they have only developed the surface proficiency of pronunciation, comprehension etc (BICS), but may not have grasped the academic skills of analysis, evaluation etc (CALP). BICS is supported by the contextual or interpersonal clues while CALP is not directly related to the immediate communicative context (Cummins 2000). These factors will be considered in this study.

Cummins (1981) proposes two dimensions of communicative proficiency: context embedded or context reduced communication and cognitively demanding or cognitively undemanding communication. Context embedded communication refers to situations where the meaning can be supported from the environment e.g. use of gestures or body language. In context reduced communication, the meaning is mostly supported only by the words. Cognitively demanding communication requires a lot of information processing while cognitively undemanding communication only requires simple processing of information. BICS can be termed as context embedded and cognitively undemanding while CALP can be categorized as context reduced and cognitively demanding. In immersion classrooms, the immersion teacher has to pay attention both to the language and content. Bilingual education will be successful if the child has proficiency to deal with the context reduced and cognitively

demanding (CALP) tasks. The way the immersion students describe their coping strategies in the immersion classroom can be looked into in the light of Cummins's theory.

### **2.3 Language attitudes**

It is important to consider language attitudes in bilingual education because attitudes have been found to affect a learner's proficiency in the second language. Positive attitudes generally bring about higher proficiency. Furthermore, success in learning also affects the learner's attitude towards the language (Stern 1983). The success of an immersion programme is also related to the positive attitude and motivation of the pupils (Artigal 1993).

There are two views on the nature of attitudes: the mentalist and the behaviorist (Fasold 1984). The mentalist viewpoint of attitude is that it is an internal state aroused by the stimulation and may cause different kinds of response. The behaviorists view that attitudes are found in people's responses. Baker (1992) suggests that research on language attitudes should be better informed by general attitude theory. He defined attitude as "... a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour" (Baker 1992 p.10). As the concept of attitude is a construct, it can only be inferred by a person's words and actions (Henderson, Morris and Fitz-Gibbon 1987). In language attitude studies, language attitudes can mean people placing a hierarchy on a

language itself or it may mean their attitudes towards the speakers of language varieties. Romaine (1995) included the following aspects as language attitudes: language evaluation, language preference, desirability of learning particular languages, and self-reports concerning language use. Brown (1981) suggested that attitude is a result of parental attitude, peer attitude, contact with other people and other affective factors. Language attitudes can be studied from a sociological, sociolinguistic and social psychological perspective (Ryan, Giles and Hewstone 1987). There are also different methods to study language attitudes: “analysis of societal treatment of language varieties; direct assessment with interviews or questionnaires; and indirect assessment with the speaker evaluation paradigm” (Ryan, Giles and Hewstone 1987 p.1068). Bourhis (1982) analysed language policies in Canada. This is an example of the first method: analysing how a society treats language varieties. Gardner and Lambert (1972) used ratings of integrative and instrumental orientation. This is an example of the direct method of assessment. The match-guise technique (Lambert 1967) is an example of the indirect assessment method. In the present study, the direct method with interviews and questionnaires has been used and this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Motivation requires an affective basis and is related to attitudes. Gardner shows that motivation is a significant factor in the learning of a second language. He defines L<sub>2</sub> motivation as ‘the extent to which an individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do

so and the satisfaction experienced in this activity.' (Gardner 1985, p.10). A more positive attitude may result in a higher degree of contact with the second language and may be linked to better learning of the language. Gardner and Lambert (1972) proposed that affective factors, such as attitudes and motivation have a significant relationship with second language achievement. They suggest that the most important attitude is the attitude towards the members of the target language group. It implies that the learner's affective predisposition toward the target cultural group will affect his/her success in language learning. They call this integrative motivation. On the other hand, if the learner's reason for learning a second language is practical in nature e.g. for future studies, for careers, etc, they call it instrumental motivation. Romaine (1995) pointed out the difficulty of applying Gardner and Lambert's dichotomy. Some motives may be both integrative and instrumental.

Dornyei also points out that motivation to learn a L<sub>2</sub> is complex because language itself is multifaceted and plays different roles. Language is "a communication system", "an integral part of the individual's identity" and "channel of social organization" (Dornyei 1998 p.118).

In the 1990s, the aim of motivation research was to broaden the scope of language learning motivation and to relate it more to classroom learning (Dornyei 1996). Researchers shifted their study from social attitudes to second language classrooms. Dornyei (1994) developed a more general



framework of L<sub>2</sub> motivation which includes three levels -- the Language Level, the Learner Level and the Learning Situation Level.

Williams and Burden (1997) list a framework of L2 motivation factors. They consider attitudes

- ♦ to language learning in general
- ♦ to the target language
- ♦ to the target language community and culture, as internal factors.

Tremblay and Gardener's 1995 model of L2 motivation includes the following aspects of language attitudes: attitudes toward L2 speakers, integrative orientation, interest in foreign languages, attitudes toward the L2 course, instrumental orientation. This model is a development of the social psychological construct of L<sub>2</sub> motivation. The basic sequence of attitudes, behaviour and achievement is kept, only that three new elements have been added between attitudes and behaviour. They are goal salience, valence and self-efficacy.

The above summary shows that there are many different ways of looking at language attitudes.

Based on Gardner (1991), the following aspects of pupils' attitude will be looked into in my research:

1. attitude towards English speaking people
2. interest in foreign language
3. attitude towards the learning situation (the course and the teachers)
4. attitude towards learning English

5. effort expended in learning English
6. anxiety in using English

These attitudes will be looked into in the present study because these are the affective variables that will influence how an individual responds to a situation. These variables will affect the way the students respond to the formal learning context here which is the immersion programme. This in turn will affect the learning outcomes.

### **2.3.1 Language Attitudes Research in Hong Kong**

In the last thirty years, there have been quite a number of language attitudes researches in Hong Kong. The purpose is to understand the impact of using the two languages, English and Chinese (Pierson 1994).

Pierson (1987) suggested that the catalyst for language attitudes research in Hong Kong was the Chinese language movement. It was a movement that promoted Chinese as an official language in Hong Kong. Chinese was accorded official status in 1974. Pierson categorised language attitudes studies into historical studies, “matched guise” research, general attitude study and ethnolinguistic vitality research. Most of these studies targeted university undergraduates and secondary students. The findings of the present study can be compared with the findings of these earlier studies.

Fu’s work (1975) is an important study of the Hong Kong bilingual. She provides a lot of background to the bilingual situation in Hong Kong.

She found that Hong Kong students were aware of the importance of English. English was necessary for getting a good job in Hong Kong. They thought that it was necessary to spend time studying English. However, they felt uneasy if they had to speak in English to their classmates or to other Chinese people outside the classroom. These students took pride in Chinese culture and some of them evaluated Western culture negatively. It may be interesting to compare the students' attitudes after a period of nearly thirty years.

Gibbons (1983) studied the attitudes of university students towards Chinese, English and Code-mixing. Using the matched guise technique, he found that using English among Chinese speakers represented status and westernisation, while use of Cantonese represented humility and solidarity. The students in his study demonstrated an attitude of hostility towards code-mixing but they also demonstrated a kind of acculturation between western and Chinese. Although this piece of work was carried out about twenty years ago, with university students and using the matched guise techniques, the findings about the use of English and Chinese can be used to compare with what the immersion students associate with the use of English and Chinese nowadays.

Some researchers carried out some general attitude researches using questionnaires and also tried to find links between language attitudes and language achievement. Pierson, Fu and Lee (1980) pointed out that students were able to see the 'instrumental' function of English.

However, the use of English is also associated with a fear of loss of cultural identity. Pierson and Fu (1982) isolated six significant factors -- freedom of language choice, desire to learn English, lack of self-confidence in using English, approbation for using English, discomfort about Chinese speakers using English, and English as a mark of education. However, they could not find a direct correlation between these factors and English language achievement. They recommended that research on the cultural values and attitudes of students in Hong Kong should be carried out to "better serve the students who study English in Hong Kong." (Pierson and Fu, 1982, p.215). The aim of the present study is similar to their idea. The understanding of the students' views can be related to the provision of a better learning environment for the learning of English in Hong Kong.

Pennington and Yue (1994) reported that secondary students have "a strong motivation to learn English and tolerance towards the use of English in Hong Kong." (p.1) As their study is a replication of the earlier study by Pierson et al in 1980, they contrasted the findings. The students in the 1994 study did not associate the use of English with threats to the Chinese identity as found in the earlier study. Axler, Yang and Stevens (1998) also carried out a similar survey. They found similar results with Pennington and Yue (1994). They suggested that for young people in Hong Kong during the transition period, using English is no longer a threat to a Hong Kong Chinese identity. As most of Axler et al's subjects

were from the English medium schools, the comparison of results may be meaningful.

Littlewood and Liu (1996) find that the university students realise the importance of English as an international language. They feel comfortable with their Chinese identity and do not feel threatened with the use of English. Boyle (2000) also finds that Hong Kong young people's language attitude is pragmatic and job-related. There has been a diminution of feeling that learning English is a threat to Chinese identity. Putonghua is seen as gaining significance in Hong Kong after the handover. Lai (2002) finds that Hong Kong secondary students are emotionally attached to Cantonese. They see English as the language of upward mobility. They have great indifference to Putonghua. They think the social status of Putonghua speakers is low and their resistance to People's Republic of China is strong. Also, the institutional support for Putonghua is inadequate. The idea of whether using English is a threat to the Chinese identity of students is a recurrent theme in these studies. In understanding the attitude of the students in the present study, the results can once again be compared.

Some researchers are interested in the construct of ethnolinguistic vitality. It reflects the societal position of the groups in contact. One example is Pierson (1994), he reported that the undergraduates at the Chinese University of Hong Kong perceived Hong Kong Chinese identity as more important than Chinese identity, English as more important than

Cantonese, a high regard for Cantonese when juxtaposed to English and Putonghua, and English and Putonghua will be stronger than Cantonese in the future Hong Kong. Although the method used in the present study is different from Pierson's, the results can be compared and see if the students have similar or different perceptions.

Other researchers are interested in what motivates the students to study English. Hyland (1997) find that the Hong Kong undergraduates desire to acquire English for instrumental purposes. They also express that English is useful in educational and official arenas. However, they do not "aspire to embrace Western culture and its values." (Hyland 1997, p.207). For them, English is important as an international language. Richards (1998) finds that the senior secondary school students in Hong Kong give high priority to academic and career related motives for learning English. English is useful for public examinations, for work and for further studies. They also express desire or perceived need to communicate with native speakers of the language. Furthermore, these students think that English is useful for gaining access to good jobs or universities. As for attitudes, status and competence are associated with people who can speak English fluently. Discomfort is expressed when hearing other Chinese use English. They also report feeling nervous when having to speak in English. The present study will try to understand why the immersion students are interested in learning English and how they perceive English as useful to them.

Some researchers are more specific and try to find out what the stakeholders think about the medium of instruction policy. Evans, Jones, Rusmin and Cheung (1998) drew the following conclusion with their survey of students, teachers, parents and professionals. Their subjects were opposed to the streaming of F.1 students according to their ability. They opposed only using Cantonese as the medium of instruction. They found mixed-mode teaching acceptable, contrary to the views of Education Commission Report No. 4. They supported parental and student freedom, also school autonomy, in MOI. They preferred Cantonese at primary and junior secondary levels and supported the gradual introduction of English and Putonghua. In the present study, the students will discuss whether they prefer to be on the immersion programme and they will also talk about what their parents and peers think about immersion programmes in Hong Kong. The result of the present study which is carried out about a couple of years later can be used to compare with these earlier studies and see if there is difference or not after the handover.

It is clear from this overview of attitude research that there have been changes over time in attitudes (Boyle 2000). This research will thus be able to continue the process of tracking changing attitudes. It will also be possible to compare the attitudes specifically of young people in EMI schools with earlier research on EMI issues. On the other hand, a lot of work has been done with older students and this research, by working with

younger students at the beginning of EMI, will fill a gap in the literature and provide a baseline for further research in the future with this age group.

#### **2.4 Significance of the present study and the immersion situation in Hong Kong**

This study is about one particular school in Hong Kong. The results of the study will be viewed together with what the policy makers and the parents say about this kind of schooling to provide one more viewpoint to this whole complex issue of using English as the medium of instruction in Hong Kong. The present study is of the situational-interpretive orientation, it is only the study of one case or one situation, through understanding the way these students perceive immersion education, it is possible to look at this issue from another angle.

One of the reasons why a study of a local school is carried out here is that although the system as it is developed in Hong Kong, in some ways, is similar to the Canada experience, it is important that evidence should be found in Hong Kong to make decisions for Hong Kong. It is impossible just to transplant the Canadian experience (Read 1996). It is necessary to investigate a Hong Kong case in order to draw conclusions for immersion in Hong Kong (Johnson 1996).

The term 'immersion' is not used directly in Hong Kong. When parents make a choice for their students, they do not choose 'immersion



programmes', they choose English medium schools. It is a version of late immersion in which the subjects are taught in the medium of English by Chinese teachers who speak English as a second language. As the choice is usually made by parents, and the allocation is by the government, it can be said that the students do not join the programmes voluntarily. As observed by Byram (1998), when parents choose a school for their children, they are choosing a specific way of socialization. Choosing bilingual education is to choose bicultural education. One area of investigation of this study is to find out whether the students agree to the choices their parents made for them, whether they prefer to remain on the course and whether this affects their cultural identity. Their opinion about their immersion experience is of course the major focus of this study. Another major research question of this study is the way these pupils perceive this mode of instruction. It is hoped that a systematic analysis of the pupils' attitudes will help the school and the parents to look at the programme from the point of view of the users. As mentioned in 1.2, the schools that opted for English as medium of instruction had to apply for it. In any review of the language policy, it may be possible that the schools have to apply again. If the decision is to be made by the school again, the results from this study may be helpful. The school authority can look at the programme from the vantage point of the learners.

In my study, the emphasis is on the way students look at the immersion programme. The rationale is based on the idea of the

consumer point of view. One of the methods of programme evaluation is to study what the learners think about the programme. As Johnson (1996) suggested, we cannot borrow directly the experience of Canada. The significance of this study is that it is focused on one programme in the Hong Kong context and the results should be useful in relation to other Hong Kong schools.

Therefore, the purpose of the present study is to find out in depth the way the pupils use the two languages, the way they view the two languages and whether they perceive the programme as useful to them. These students, through talking and answering questions about their language experiences, can give the school and the government their viewpoint on this issue of using English as the medium of instruction. It is hoped that their viewpoint can be a factor to be considered in future decisions about this policy in Hong Kong or at least in this school. It is also hoped that the information collected in this study can inform other researchers working on this topic. Perhaps the research findings here can become part of professional discourse and influence the practice of teaching or the formation of educational policy.

The decision of whether to continue using English as medium of instruction in Hong Kong and how to improve the mode of operation is an important one. It is hoped that the policy makers will also consider the students' point of view since bilingual education, according to Johnson (1996), is a high risk undertaking. Additive bilingualism may be the aim

of immersion programmes but there may also be dangers of ‘subtractive’ bilingualism and ‘academic semi-lingualism’ (Johnson 1996).

## **2.5 Research questions**

Based on the review of the literature in relation to immersion studies, the following research questions have been generated.

- (1) What is the experience like for these pupils who have received about one year of immersion education?

School experience—Do they speak to teachers or schoolmates in English?

Classroom experience—How much English do the teachers use in classrooms?

Language use experience—Do they use English outside classrooms?

Family language experience—Do they use English at home?

- (2) Who made the choice of joining the immersion programme?

Did the pupils have a choice?

Would they prefer to have a choice?

- (3) What are their attitudes towards the immersion programme?

How do they see receiving education in English?

Do they prefer being taught in English?

- (4) What are their attitudes towards learning English?

Are they motivated to learn English?

Do they prefer learning English?

Are they positive about their language abilities?

Does the use of English cause anxiety for them?

What are their reasons for learning English?

Do they think learning English is useful for them?

Is there parental support for learning through English?

What are their attitudes to the English speakers?

What is their cultural identity?

Having reviewed the literature and developed the research questions, in the next chapter I will talk about the methods I have chosen to conduct this study.

### **3 Methodology**

At the end of Chapter 2, the following research questions have been generated:

- (1) What is the experience like for these pupils who have received about one year of immersion education?
- (2) Who made the choice of joining the immersion programme?
- (3) What are their attitudes towards the immersion programme?
- (4) What are their attitudes towards learning English?

It was possible to consider issuing questionnaires to the 114 EMI schools or a sample of them to survey the language use and language attitudes of students. However, there were several problems to be considered. First, the results would mostly be numerical scores and a statistical summary. This would not be a full picture in the understanding of the experience of these students. Second, there was the problem of access and return rate. As demonstrated in the literature, most of the attitude surveys were carried out in the universities or with government grants, and with such support, they were more likely to get the co-operation of the schools. If I chose this method, the return rate might be very low. This was why I have chosen the case study approach. Further reasons for adopting this method will be explained in 3.1.

Having decided on the case study, it was also possible to use different ways of data collection. For example, it was possible to carry out observational research. In this way, it was possible to observe the actual

use of the two languages by a group of students and perhaps, even the teachers. This would provide objective evidence as to what the students describe as their use of the two languages. However, as classroom observation was not a common practice at this school, the presence of an observer might affect both the teachers and the students. This might affect the data collected. Also, it might be difficult to obtain the permission of the other teachers. Another caution is that the presence of an observer may change the behaviour of the people being observed (Patton 1990). Furthermore, the time factor was a consideration too. With observation, it would take much longer than interviews and questionnaires, the two methods decided on later. Also, it would not have been possible to carry out the observation of use of language outside school. If there had been enough time and funding, with well-trained observers, an ethnographic study of the immersion students' language use and language attitudes would have provided more thorough data for a more in-depth and analytical description to the present study. Anyway, having considered the resource constraints, the following approach was adopted: a case-study of a single school using interviews and questionnaires.

### **3.1 Case Study**

Miles and Huberman (1994) define a case as "... a focused and bounded phenomenon embedded in its context" (p.10). According to

Bassey (1999), "Case study is study of a singularity conducted in depth in natural settings."(p.47). Johnson (1993) points out that the case study is "a holistic look at the particulars of the case in its natural context" (p.7). It can be seen that the case study is carried out in a natural setting and not as an experiment. For the case study, the focus is on the case rather than a whole population. Through this concentration, the researcher can uncover the interaction of significant factors in the phenomenon (Merriam 1991). The purpose of the case study is to gather systematic and in-depth information about the case under study. Its strength lies in the attention to "the individuality and complexity of the single case." (Stake 1988 p.413) The case in the present study is an English secondary school in Hong Kong. The context or the setting is the bilingual society of Hong Kong.

Case study researchers usually follow the interpretive research paradigm. Reality is seen as socially constructed or constructed by the human mind (Bassey 1999, Mertens 1998). There is not just one reality but different realities as constructed by people with difference in perception, language and interpretation. The aim of interpretive research is to understand human experience (Cohen and Manion 1989). Interpretive researchers try to recreate in their minds the thoughts and feelings of their subjects. The aim is to understand, not to explain (von Wright 1993). The research interest is to discover regularities, find categories and explore their connections (Miles and Huberman 1994). Stake (1988) points out that case researchers try to find out what is

meaningful to the case people. He calls these “emic issues”, the issues that the researchers discover from acquaintance with the case. Through the use of “thick description” (Geertz 1973), description which is vivid and in a real context, the case researchers reveal the perceptions and values of the subjects of their study (Miles and Huberman 1994, Stake 1988). Thick description is necessary because actions can only be understood in the whole context of the culture (Gomm, Hammersley and Foster 2000). Theory then can be developed but the theory must be ‘grounded’ on the data from the case (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Some researchers think that it is necessary to study “the interdependencies of parts and of the patterns that emerge.” (Sturman 1994 p.61) The case study is a common approach in educational research. Its significance is that a well-documented report with sufficient evidence can help the readers to judge their own generalisation and application (Stenhouse 1988).

The aim of the present study is to understand the experience of the students who are enrolled in an immersion English programme in Hong Kong. The case study approach has been chosen because it is hoped that by looking closely at the responses of the students, through understanding their experiences, points of view and expectations, theory about the immersion situation in Hong Kong can be developed.

The data were collected in interviews as will be explained in 3.3. A non-statistical process of interpretation of data was employed to develop



concepts and relationships in raw data (Strauss and Corbin 1998). In order to supplement a better understanding of the interview data, questionnaire data were also collected (3.2). Although quantitative data were collected, the aim was not to seek correlations and other explanations, it was just to help in the understanding.

In summary, and as, indicated in Section 2.4, the present study is the study of a single school. The qualitative research paradigm has been chosen because it is more suitable for understanding this educational context. The study is to be placed in a natural setting and data are to be interpreted in this particular context. Any hypotheses are to be generated from the data. The focus of the present study is what the immersion programme means to these students.

### **3.2 Questionnaires**

The questionnaire has been chosen as one of the tools for this study because it is a time-saving tool. It can be administered to a large group at the same time. A whole class takes only about 35 minutes to complete the questionnaire. And several classes can answer the questionnaire at the same time. It is a time-saving research tool because the analysis of the answers can be quite straight forward. Furthermore, since it is anonymous, people may be more frank with their answers (Munn and Drever 1990). The disadvantage is that the subjects may interpret the questions in different ways. They may not understand what the

researcher is asking about. In this study, to ensure that the students can understand the questions better, a bilingual version of the questionnaire was provided to them. The questionnaire is not like the interview, where the researcher can probe and clarify the answers with the subjects. The information collected from questionnaires may thus be superficial. This is why the questionnaire has to be complemented by other approaches. In fact, the questionnaire data collected were used mainly to help understand the interview data.

The questionnaire used was developed specifically for finding out about the research questions in this study. Although standardized measures (e.g. Gardner, Clement, Smythe and Smythe 1979) are more reliable and better tested, they may not suit the particular context of Hong Kong. The questionnaire was also developed from pilot interviews and an earlier draft of the pilot questionnaire. As the questionnaire data can be used to cross-reference the interview data, this is a triangulation of data.

There are four parts in the questionnaire. Part A is for collecting some personal particulars of the respondents. The purpose of this part of the questionnaire is to find out if some factors like age, sex, socio-economic background and academic achievement affect the students' language use and language attitudes. Part B of the questionnaire is for investigating the language use habits of these pupils. They are asked to indicate the frequency of their use of the two languages, English and Chinese. There are twelve questions in relation to language

use in everyday life. Respondents are asked to tick one of the five boxes indicating frequency: always, often, sometimes, seldom and never. This part is mainly for collecting information about language use. In part C, there are twelve statements expressing language attitudes. As the questionnaire is mainly to collect the attitudes of the pupils, statements with rating scales have been used. Students are asked to indicate their degree of agreement to the statements to show their attitudes (Foddy 1993). Respondents are asked to tick one of the five boxes: Strongly agree, Agree, No opinion, Disagree, Strongly disagree. The statements of the questionnaire have been developed from the research questions. The statements from different parts of the questionnaire will help to answer the different research questions. For example, for the research question, “What are their reasons for learning English?”, the following statements have been used:

- English is very important to the people of Hong Kong.
- English is useful to me if I travel overseas.
- English is important for me because I need it for my future studies.
- I can get a better job if my English is better.

The assumption behind this part of the questionnaire is that it is possible to find out about the respondents’ attitudes by asking them to express their degree of agreement to different statements (Fraenkel and Wallen 2000). Of course, the respondents’ interpretation of the attitude scales may be different. This is why the information collected here is

mainly for supplementing the interview data to be collected later.

In Part D, there are six questions with multiple-choice answers. The questions are for cross-referencing the questions in the other parts of the questionnaire. They include questions about language use, language attitude and cultural identity. The way the information is used for cross-referencing other data will be discussed in Chapter 4.

### **3.3 Interviews**

In order to ensure the usefulness of the data to be collected, a second method, the face-to-face interview has been employed. This can help to increase the trustworthiness of the data to be identified (Miles and Huberman 1994). This is what Cohen and Manion refer to as “methodological triangulation” (Cohen and Manion 1985 p.257) It is the use of more than one method in the data collection in order to interpret human behaviour more fully. Another advantage of the interview as a research tool is that the researcher can interact directly with the respondents. It is possible to obtain large and rich amounts of data in the respondents’ own words. The interview is a good method of data collection because, in general, people are more willing to talk than to write. They are more ready to talk about their experience than to write about it. In an interview, the interviewer can explain more clearly the purpose of the investigation. He/she can check the truthfulness of the responses, evaluate the answers or probe further for more details (Best and Kahn

2003).

Semi-structured, semi-formal small group interviews have been used in this study. This method has been chosen because it is a faster and less costly method than individual interviews. Another reason is that the group can provide support for individuals and encourages greater openness in their responses. As the respondents react to and build upon the responses of other group members, the answers can be developed further. The interaction among the participants can help to generate or formulate ideas. This situation can also help the investigator understand more what the participants think and feel. From the interactive discussion, the researcher can get a more in-depth understanding of the beliefs and attitudes of the participants (Vaughn, Shumm and Sinagub 1996). As the purpose of this study is to find out about the pupils' attitudes, the group interview is a more suitable method. It is hoped that this group format will encourage more spontaneous responses from the students and the more natural setting will encourage higher levels of involvement (Morgan 1988).

On the other hand, this method has limitations. Firstly, the open-ended nature of responses may make the summarization and interpretation of results difficult. Secondly, the group interview may be dominated by an aggressive member. The researcher needs to guard against these limitations when using this method (Steward and Shamdasani 1990). Thirdly, the interviewees may answer in the way

they think the interviewer expects them to answer. This is why the interviewer should let the interviewees know that he/she has no preconceived ideas. Fourthly, the interviewer should guard against interviewer bias by using neutral forms of question, remaining objective and being sensitive to respondents' answers (Best and Kahn 2003).

Interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. They were first transcribed in written Cantonese and then translated to English. Most of the questions were semi-structured. The questions were sequenced to help get the interviewees involved and to facilitate later analysis.

A content analysis was carried out afterwards (Glaser and Strauss 1967, Wenden 1982). This approach is called grounded theory — to develop theories grounded in empirical data of cultural description. “Data analysis consists of examining, categorizing, tabulating, or otherwise recombining the evidence, to address the initial propositions of a study.” (Yin, 1984, p.99) When data are analysed, the purpose of the study is always referred to -- the problem drives the analysis. The analyst needs to consider how to compare the different answers. The context of the comments should be considered. Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest that interview data can be analysed line by line, and in this way, the researcher can discover the categories and find the relationships among the concepts. Theories can then be developed and empirical data can be used to refine and improve the sensitizing concepts. The pupils are like the informants in an ethnographic study. They tell the researcher about their

experience in this immersion programme, they classify their experience in a certain way. An attempt has been made to understand the way they look at the programme and their attitude in the light of the whole issue of using English as the medium of instruction as discussed in Hong Kong.

### **3.4 Pilot Study**

A pilot project was carried out with one class of F.2 students. They answered the questionnaires.

A pilot interview was also carried out with a group of F.2 students. The purpose was to identify whether the questions were understood by the students.

Some wordings in the questions were changed to better facilitate the research.

### **3.5 Procedure**

The questionnaires were administered by the English teachers to all the F.1 students in March 2003. The teachers explained to the students that it was an educational research and the questionnaires were to be answered anonymously. Students also had the option of not answering the questionnaires. Out of the 206 students, 201 questionnaires were collected. These students had experience in answering questionnaires because other types of educational research had been carried out in the school. A bilingual version of the questionnaire was given to the

students, so, they were free to read in either Chinese or English.

As it was not possible to carry out whole population interviews, a sample representative of the population was chosen. Firstly, as the immersion programme is carried out in five classes in the school, the sample to be chosen came from all the five classes. The system of streaming is used in the school and the classes are approximately representative of the high and low English proficiency of the students. It was assumed that if four students were chosen randomly from each class, they would represent students of different English proficiency. Their academic results also indicate they are representatives of varying degrees of academic achievement. Secondly, as there are boys and girls in the school, the sample included both boys and girls. As the boys and girls are assigned class numbers according to their surnames separately, a random choice of the class number of each class provided a random sample of boys and girls from different proficiency groups for the interviews. This was a semi-probability sampling. The randomness was limited by some pre-set criteria.

Dimensional Sampling

Class	A	B	C	D	E
M	2	2	2	2	2
F	2	2	2	2	2

Sample Number: 20

The interviews were conducted by the researcher. There were



altogether five interviews. The four students from each class were in one group. Each interview started with an explanation by the researcher and the agreement of the students was sought before the actual conducting of the interviews. Permission was also given by the school and the parents. As the researcher was one of the teachers in the school, although she does not teach these students, the interviewees might answer in the way they think the teacher expected. This was why the researcher had to try to overcome this problem. The interviewer explained that it was the students' own views that were important. The students were encouraged to express their own ideas. The interviewer pointed out to the interviewees that there was not one preferred answer to the questions. The interviews were carried out during lunch break or after-school in a relaxed atmosphere. The students were given the chance to elaborate on what they think and make suggestions. The interviewer encouraged the quieter members to speak more and guarded against domination by aggressive members. Support was expressed to the interviewees and they were soon talking about their experience. Each interview lasted for about 1 hour to 1.5 hours. The interviews were conducted in the Multi-media Learning Centre, to facilitate the recording of the interviews. As it was easier for the students to describe their experience and attitudes in their own language, the interviews were conducted in Cantonese.

The interview started with the recall of a significant event -- the students' allocation to an EMI school in July 2002. By starting with a

concrete event, on the one hand, it was easier for them to start talking, on the other hand, it helped them to see the context of the study, the interview was about their being enrolled in an immersion programme. As the subjects were in the first year of the immersion programme, it would be easier for them to talk about the contrast between the primary and secondary schools. This then led to their description of their life in the EMI classroom. Next, it was their use of language at home. Then, they would talk about their use of language in their leisure time and this would link back to their use of English at school. At different points, they would be asked if they preferred Chinese or English for different purposes or situations. Finally, they were asked to make suggestions regarding the use of language at school. The interviews were not very formal ones, this was to encourage the students to talk more. As such, sometimes the questions might be asked in a slightly different order depending on the responses of the students.

The English transcription of a sample of the interviews can be found in the appendix. A content analysis of the interviews, using a procedure based on the grounded theory of Glaser and Strauss (1967), was completed and is reported in Chapter Four.

#### **4 Findings**

In this chapter, data collected from the questionnaires and the interviews will be analysed. At the end of chapter 2 the following principal research questions were presented after a review of the literature:

- (1) What is the experience like for these pupils who have received about one year of immersion education?
- (2) Who made the choice of joining the immersion programme?
- (3) What are their attitudes towards the immersion programme?
- (4) What are their attitudes towards learning English?

Each question led to a number of subquestions. In this chapter, these questions will form the structure for the analysis of the data, after a summary of the data collected.

A total of 201 questionnaires were returned by the F.1 students. The number of boys and girls was nearly the same: girls:102, boys:99. Most of them were in the 12-13 year range (12, 46.5%, 13, 43.1%). 70% of them live in private housing and about 30% live in public housing. This means that most of these students are probably from middle class family backgrounds. About 20% of these students have lived more than six months in China; probably they were born in China and came to Hong Kong afterwards. Six students have lived abroad, probably returnees of the emigration trend a few years ago. These have to be inferences as it would have been too intrusive to ask such questions directly.

As the students answered every question on the questionnaire, in the

tables presenting the questionnaire results below, there is no 'missing response' column.

The information collected in Part A i.e. age, sex, type of housing and academic achievement was checked for statistical association with the statements in the other parts of the questionnaire. A chi-square test was carried out between each of the factors and the responses to the other questions. It was found that there were no significant associations and no significant difference, except in the statement about parents' English proficiency. For this statement, the factors of housing and academic achievement were found to be significant. This will be discussed in 4.4.1. Overall speaking, age, sex, type of housing and academic achievement are not factors affecting these students' language use and language attitudes.

Four students, two boys and two girls, from each class were interviewed. A total of twenty students were interviewed. As explained in Ch.3, the students were randomly chosen from the classes, but as the classes are streamed according to academic ability, they represented students of different academic achievements. Their end of year examination result also shows that they are students of different academic achievements. The interviewees are assigned letters of the alphabet as a kind of identification. 1A, 1B etc is the indicator of the class they belonged to, with A being the highest set.

1A	<i>A</i>	1B	<i>M</i>	1C	<i>I</i>	1D	<i>E</i>	1E	<i>S</i>
	<i>B</i>		<i>N</i>		<i>J</i>		<i>F</i>		<i>T</i>
	<i>C</i>		<i>O</i>		<i>K</i>		<i>G</i>		<i>U</i>
	<i>D</i>		<i>P</i>		<i>L</i>		<i>H</i>		<i>V</i>

The letters are used as convenience, no particular meaning is assigned to the letters.

#### **4.1 Language use for the immersion pupils**

The first research question was as follows:

What is the experience like for these pupils who have received about one year of immersion education?

With the following subquestions:

School experience -- Do they speak to teachers or schoolmates in English?

Classroom experience -- How much English do the teachers use in classrooms?

Language use experience -- Do they use English outside classrooms?

Family language experience -- Do they use English at home?

##### **4.1.1 Language use in the classroom**

In the questionnaire, the students were asked to respond to the following questions.

How often do you speak to your classmates in English?

How often do you speak to your teachers in English?

How often do you speak to your classmates in Cantonese?

How often do you speak to your teachers in Cantonese?

With a Likert scale response of “Always, Often, Sometimes, Seldom and Never”, the responses were aggregated and a mean established. The questionnaire results indicate that for these immersion students, English is much more often used at school and with teachers. These students have a choice of using either English or Cantonese. For speaking to teachers, they indicated a similar result between Cantonese (2.39) and English (2.40). It is between often and sometimes. For classmates, the difference is greater, Cantonese (1.39) between always and often, English (3.15) between sometimes and seldom. This shows that as a group tendency they almost always speak to classmates in Cantonese and sometimes speak to classmates in English, although some students differed from the tendency and said they sometimes spoke to their friends in English. It is clear, however, that Cantonese dominates. (Table 1)

Table 1 Results of Part B Questions 2, 3, 8, 9, Language use at school

		Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
		1	2	3	4	5
	Mean					
Speak to classmates		64.0%	33.0%	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%
in Cantonese	1.39	*				

Speak to teachers in Cantonese	14.3%	39.9%	38.4%	6.9%	0.5%
2.39		*			
Speak to teachers in English	9.4%	47.3%	37.4%	5.9%	0.0%
2.40		*			
Speak to classmates in English	2.5%	14.3%	51.7%	29.1%	2.5%
3.15			*		

The idea that English is used more with teachers is confirmed by their response to Part D Question b. “How much English do your teachers use during the lessons (excluding Chinese lessons)?” 118 students feel that the teachers speak in English for 81-90% of the lesson time, while 63 of the students indicate that teachers speak in English for 91-100% of the time. (Table 2)

Table 2 Results of Part D Question b, Classroom language

How much English used by teachers during the lessons?	91-100%	31.0%
	81-90%	58.1%
	61-80%	5.4%
	41-60%	1.5%
	21-40%	2.5%
	1-20%	1.5%

This shows that the teachers use quite of lot of English in class. Anyway, the result of this question reflects the fact that the programme is an immersion programme, i.e. these students are learning subject content through a second language, English.

From the interviews, it can be seen that these students experience the

use of a second language in their classrooms as problematic: they have to answer questions in English, and they find this difficult. They use different methods to deal with this problem. One method is not to answer. “Sometimes I understand what the teacher says but I don’t know how to answer in English, and I can’t answer.” (J) This is similar to the silent method in Second Language Acquisition (Gattegno, 1972), and Krashen’s argument that there has to be a silent period in language learning before learners begin to produce their own language (Krashen 1981a). It is easier for them to handle the receptive skill, listening, than the active skill, speaking. “It’s easier to understand than to answer in English.” (U)

Another solution is to answer in Chinese. For this, the students have to ask for the permission of the teachers. If they do not, they will be punished. “Once, in the English lesson, he suddenly spoke in Chinese, then he was scolded by the teacher.” (T) Some teachers will not grant their request of using Chinese and tell them that it is better to speak in English in an EMI school. Students do not have a free choice in their language use in the immersion classrooms.

As they have to use English, and their English may not be adequate to answer the questions, they think of ways to get round the problem. One method is to use the English sentence structure and use Chinese single words. “For example the thing is concave, you say the thing is ‘lup’ (The Cantonese word that means concave).” (O) This is usually the time when the teachers supply the word required. Mixing is a very convenient



method for these students. “I speak half and half, mixing Chinese and English sentences.” (O) As these students are only starting their immersion programme, they do not have adequate English proficiency to express all their ideas. Code-mixing is one of the coping strategies in the immersion classroom. Their kind of code-mixing is what Luke (1998) terms expedient mixing which is pragmatically motivated. The students describe this code-mixing as a kind of solution to their problems in communication. From the data, the students in the present study do not demonstrate the kind of hostility towards code-mixing as found by Gibbons (1983) with the secondary students in the 1980s. At that time, the university students thought that code-mixing was rather un-Chinese.

Some also think that it is natural to answer teachers in English in classrooms if the question is asked in English. “There’s no reason that others ask questions in English and you answer in Chinese. It is weird.” (C) Some students think that it is better to use English. “When I consider I can enter an EMI school and the teacher is using English, better to answer in English.” (U) This shows that they accept the situation of the immersion programme that they are required to speak in a second language.

Of course, the use of English is not without difficulties. “Sometimes I know the answer but maybe the verb is in the wrong position, and I’m wrong.” (T) This shows the frustrations that these students have to go through when using English, a second language, as the

classroom language. However, the data also show their awareness of the second language. The students show that they think about their use of the second language. This language learning strategy will be further discussed later in this section.

Despite the difficulties, these students are positive about using English. They think that using English will help them in the future. “I usually use English because if I practise speaking in English more, when I speak in English outside, I will not find it so difficult.” (K)

The first and foremost reason they give for the use of English is that they belong to an EMI school. “This is an EMI school ...” (F) “To study in an EMI school ...” (U) Invariably, they mentioned that English is used in lessons for this reason. They also expressed a natural acceptance of this requirement, showing that they are not forced to use English.

“... we have to speak in English, it is better.” (I)

“You must speak in English, and so I use English ...” (J)

“Using English is better, this is an English school ...” (F)

Furthermore, no negative sentiment is associated with studying in an EMI school. Rather, there is a sense of camaraderie when speaking of friends from other EMI schools. “But those from EMI schools, they can understand, and there are even some words that they use that I do not understand ...” (V)

They attribute their improvement in English to the fact that they study in an EMI school.

“... in the past ... I did not know how to talk to foreigners, now I can. I feel that I am superb.” (J)

This is in contrast to friends who study in CMI schools. “Some friends from Chinese schools, because they do not often speak in English in the lesson, they do not understand some words.” (V) In reality, having been in an immersion programme for six months may not have made such a great difference for the students. However, in their perception, they feel that studying in an EMI school is helpful to them. “Then I think, really, after studying in EMI schools, looking back at the primary six stuff, it is really easy!” (J)

These students’ expression of feeling of confidence in their own language proficiency and the sense of belonging to the immersion programme is similar to what Foster (1998) finds about the profile of the successful immersion students in Canada. Foster finds that the students who have chosen to remain in the immersion programme in high school are confident about their French, regardless of their achievement level. For these Hong Kong students, they have just started on the programme but they are quite confident about their own achievements and their attitude towards the programme is also positive.

Another factor that Foster identifies for Canadian students who choose to stay on the immersion programme is that the immersion programme is challenging. This is also a factor that has been found among Australian immersion students (Berthold 1995). The Australian

students joined the immersion programme because it was intellectually challenging. The Hong Kong students also admit that the immersion course is difficult. However, they do not give up but rather put the emphasis on the achievement they can attain after overcoming the difficulties. In a way, their perception and approach are similar to immersion students in countries like Canada and Australia, i.e. the immersion programme gives them challenge.

The fact that they are studying in an EMI school also motivates them to improve their English.

“... I’d like my English to be better because I can be better in other subjects as well ...” (O)

“... everything is taught in English if your English foundation is not good, it is impossible for you to handle.” (A)

“... if I cannot understand, I can only blame myself.” (U)

They show that the subject contents are taught in English and that they may not understand but they will try their best to understand. They are not against the use of English in lessons.

However, when there is class discussion, that means it involves the use of language among the peers, the case is different. Most of them will speak softly in Chinese. They use Chinese because it is a quicker way to get the task done.

“When the teacher turns away, we’ll communicate in Chinese first because it is easier to do so in Chinese.” (V)

They will use Chinese to find the solution and ask one of the students to translate into English when they have to report back. They also play the game of “cat and mouse” with the teachers. If the teacher comes near, they will pretend to speak in English and revert to Chinese when the teacher is away.

“In groups the teacher says use English, but if we don’t understand we’ll whisper in Chinese ...” (S)

“When we are in a circle, many classmates whisper in Chinese, only use English when we answer the teacher’s questions.” (U)

What they describe here is also supported by the questionnaire data. 64% of the students indicated that they always speak in Cantonese to classmates and 33.0% often speak in Cantonese to classmates. This reflects that Chinese is still their dominant language at this stage. It is easier to use Chinese to communicate and Chinese helps them understand. When they need to finish a task more quickly, they use their first language.

In short, on the one hand, the students attach importance to the use of English, as it is useful for them, particularly in the future. On the other hand, for the present, when they have to finish tasks at hand, it is more expedient for them to use Chinese.

Here it is possible to compare what these students report about their classroom use of language and the concept of comprehensible output (Swain 1986). Swain suggests that immersion students cannot achieve native-speaker competence in their second language because they are not

given chances to use the target language in the classroom. Here in the Hong Kong immersion classrooms, from the reports of the students, although they are given the chances of using the target language, English, they resort to Chinese for convenience and ease. This shows that they do not have much chance of extended discourse in the second language in the classroom. This situation is similar to what Genesee (1994) found about immersion classrooms in Canada. In both Canada and Hong Kong, immersion students have more chances of listening to than speaking the second language. The receptive skills are developed more than the active skills.

At school, the teachers are the source of the second language input. The students agree that teachers speak in English in the lessons.

“Most of the time in English.” (P)

“About 90%.” (M)

“Mostly use English ...” (S)

Sometimes explanation in Chinese is required.

“For the English ones, teachers will only explain one or two words in Chinese for us ...” (V)

“... when we don’t understand after many explanations, the teachers will explain in Chinese, though only rarely.” (J)

“That means they explain in Chinese.” (E)

“... sometimes they use some Chinese and most of the time I can understand.” (F)

This teachers' use of English data is also supported by evidence from the questionnaire. In the questionnaire, 58.1% of the students think that the teachers speak in English for 81-90% of their discourse while 31% think that teachers speak up to 91-100% (Table 2). The classroom experience of these students tells us that the kind of education they receive fits the definition of immersion (Genesee 1987) as adopted in this study. They receive the majority part of their instruction through the medium of English. It can also be seen that the code-mixing of English and Cantonese as an instructional language by teachers (Johnson 1997) is no longer practised. This also shows that the policy that only English should be used in EMI schools (Education Department 1997) is implemented on the classroom level.

The students also expressed that they have 'got used' to listening to English. They think of this as either 'getting used' to English or 'adapting' to it, as can be seen in the frequent use of such phrases.

"But now *we have got used to* listening to English." (J)

"For my primary school even in English lessons, we used Chinese. So when I first came here, I did not understand what the teachers said, but now *I've got used to* it, can understand what the teachers say." (K)

"Now *we have adapted ...*" (E)

"After one term, *I can adapt* now." (G)

"In the past, I thought using Chinese was better, but after half-a-year, I think *I have got used to English ...*" (T)

“At first it was a bit difficult, but then *we got used to English* and did not feel it.” (I)

They can think of coping strategies, such as guessing but also using references.

“If you don’t understand, you can guess and get the meaning.” (B)

“I think that, if I don’t understand, I will go home and consult the dictionary.” (I)

The students realize that the input from teachers is one way to learn English. For some it is a question of words:

“Sometimes some words are used by the teachers, then when I read the book I also notice those words, then my English can improve faster.” (U)

For others there is more awareness of the relationship of content to expression, of how ideas are formulated.

“... after I have listened to them (teachers) I can think back and know that’s the way the teacher expressed the idea, then I can also learn how to speak. I think that if teachers speak in English I will sometimes imitate them and that is quite good.” (J)

They agree that when teachers try to explain in English, it is helpful to their learning because it obliges them to be analytical.

“As he said, teachers use English to explain English words, I think that when he uses English to explain, at least you have to think about it, it is better than telling you directly the Chinese meaning ...” (L)



They also suggest that teachers can use other methods to help them understand.

“I think it is better to use all English. If they cannot explain, they can draw, we can understand.” (O)

They also suggest that teachers should use simple English.

“May be they can use simple English, something which suits our level ...” (M)

“It is best to use simple English e.g. ‘chance’ and ‘opportunity’ mean the same, it is better to use ‘chance’ ...” (N)

The Hong Kong immersion classroom situation as described by these students looks to be a favourable situation for the development of L<sub>2</sub>, as proposed by Cummins (1980). There is plenty of exposure because the teachers are using English up to 90% of the time. The students are also encouraged to use English as much as possible. And, most important of all, they are motivated to learn the L<sub>2</sub>. Given the conditions of ample exposure and high motivation, it is likely that transfer of L<sub>1</sub> proficiency will occur according to the interdependence principle as proposed by Cummins. “In relation to bilingual education, it is predicted that to the extent that instruction in L<sub>x</sub> is effective in promoting cognitive/academic proficiency in L<sub>x</sub>, transfer of this proficiency to L<sub>y</sub> will occur provided there is adequate exposure to L<sub>y</sub> (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn L<sub>y</sub>.” (Cummins 1980 p.180)

Also as expressed by these immersion students, the communicative

situations they are in are cognitively demanding and the meaning is mostly supported only by the words i.e. the communication is context reduced (Cummins 1981). These students are willing to use books and dictionary to help them learn. They are willing to 'think back' and 'think about' the teachers' use of the L<sub>2</sub>. In a way, they are reporting the tasks in the immersion classroom are cognitively demanding. The way these students describe their approach to language learning seems to show that they are quite likely to handle the Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency as proposed by Cummins. "Mastery of the academic functions of language requires high levels of cognitive involvement and are only minimally supported by contextual or interpersonal cues. ... it is necessary for students to stretch their linguistic resources to the limit to function successfully. ... the ability to make complex meanings explicit in either oral or written modalities by means of language itself rather than by means of contextual or paralinguistic cues ..." (Cummins 2000a pp.68-69).

English may not be so necessary for these students in their everyday life but they see an importance related to English in future studies and careers. The function of English as related to acquiring knowledge is accepted by these students. On the other hand, they feel that Cantonese gives them an affective bond and helps them communicate more easily with their teachers and this is all the more the case as we shall see in the next section.

#### **4.1.2 Language Use outside Classrooms**

The immersion students in this study accept the fact that the teachers speak to them in English during the lessons, but knowing well that the teachers can all speak Chinese, they prefer their teachers to speak to them in Chinese after lessons. “During lesson time, it is better to use English. After the lessons, using Chinese you feel closer.” (C) They think that when the teachers are using Chinese, it is “Easier to understand, more relaxing” (G), they can feel more close to the teachers. Also, it may simply be because Chinese is their mother tongue. “Of course Chinese, Chinese is my mother tongue.” (E) Some of these students are very clear that English is important and useful to them but they do not like to use it after lesson.

For students who prefer their teachers to keep using English even after lessons, the reasons given are all connected with the future usefulness of English.

“... I can learn more ... it is better for studying ...” (N)

“... when you promote to senior forms, you will be better.” (U)

“... if we use Chinese, in the future, if there are foreigners in the company, it will be difficult to communicate with them.” (V)

“... because when you grow up, you need to use English. If you speak more, you can be more fluent, more useful in the future.”  
(B)

These students perceive that if they use English with the teachers after lessons, they can be better in their English. What they feel coincides

with findings about immersion programmes in the Basque country (Arzamendi and Genesee 1997). It was found there that the use of Basque with the teacher outside the classrooms was a positive factor in developing Basque language skills.

Chinese is the language of first choice when they speak to friends. This is because “Chinese feels more close” (U), which is a similar phrase to the one used about teachers in the previous section. The second reason is connected to being Chinese or HongKonger.

“Chinese ... because if you speak in English, he will think you are Chinese, why do you speak in English?” (S)

“Talking is always in Chinese ... we are HongKonger, better use Chinese.” (U)

These students indicate a preference for using Chinese with their peers. The first reason is for establishing an affective bond with peers. The second reason is their cultural identity. They think that others expect them to speak Chinese. The reasons given by them can be compared with the findings in Canada (Tarone and Swain 1995). The researchers there find that the  $L_1$  is preferred by the students because they can use it in a style more suitable for peer interaction. The students in the present study say that their  $L_2$  is not adequate for them to express a closer relationship with their friends. These students find that  $L_1$  and  $L_2$  are used for different purposes in their lives.  $L_2$  is mainly for academic pursuits, and  $L_1$  is for personal interactions.

English is avoided because of the status that is associated with using it.

“If I speak to my friends who study in Chinese schools in English, it may sound like I am discriminating against him.” (U)

Here is the association of the feeling of superiority in using English in the minds of these students. There is a kind of social pressure not to use English with friends. They are also afraid that their friends will not be able to understand if they speak in English.

“If I speak to them in English, I am afraid that they may not understand. Some friends from Chinese schools, because they do not often speak in English in the lesson, they do not understand some words.” (V)

The main aim of the present study is not to compare the linguistic competence of the immersion and non-immersion students in Hong Kong. However, the students' own words reflect that they perceive their English to be better than that of non-immersion students. Their perception reflects the findings of immersion research in Canada that the L<sub>2</sub> proficiency of immersion students is better than that of non-immersion students (Harley, Hart and Lapkin 1986).

There is, however, a further function for English outside the classroom which reveals a different relationship to the language, because among these students, English represents a kind of fun activity. They do not expect themselves to be using it, and nearly surprise themselves when they do.

“N always speaks in English all of a sudden” (O)

“... suddenly we all spoke in English, just like playing.” (T)

It is a kind of game for them too. This idea of game gives them approval to use English.

“... if not, others think that you are weird.” (T)

It seems that English is accepted as a kind of fun.

“Also we speak to one another in English ... just for fun ... we make plenty of mistakes ... but we just play about it, but we also learn English.” (J)

They are quite conscious of the need to learn English even though they seem to be playing. They particularly enjoy imitating their teachers.

“... we imitate the way the teachers speak in English ... and laugh about it ...” (I)

“Then we always imitate them ... and it is very funny.” (J)

“... imitate the teachers, as a joke.” (K)

This fun aspect of using and experimenting with the use of English is something that has not been reported in earlier language attitudes research in Hong Kong or in other countries. The use of English was associated with uneasiness (Fu 1975), status and westernisation (Gibbons 1983), fear of loss of cultural identity (Pierson, Fu and Lee 1980), and nervousness (Richards 1998). In this sense then there is a growing affective dimension in these immersion students' relationship to English; they do not just see it as a tool for work and study.

Another reason for using English outside classrooms is a more serious one, they like to “train” themselves. This belief that practice makes perfect is a general idea that occurs in the interviews several times. English exercises on the internet are one of the resources they have mentioned to help them improve English. CD-ROM is another form of practice they have mentioned. Some of these exercises have been bought by the parents. “Also my mum has bought many books with CDs, there are meanings and pronunciation of the different words. I read after the CD and can know the Chinese meaning.” (S) Their parents also send them to have private tuition after school to let them have more practice. “I have private tuition, some homework, about 8 to 9 pages. Writing, summary all in English. Almost once or twice every week, doing more, my English can improve!” (U) Clearly, parental support is provided to help them improve in English. This can be compared to the parental support of immersion programmes in Canada (Swain and Lapkin 1982). In general, these students put in extra effort to improve their English.

#### **4.1.3 Language Use at Home**

Most of these students do not speak in English to their parents. In the questionnaire, they indicated that they seldom speak to parents in English. (Table 3)

Table 3 Results of Part B Questions 7 and 1, Language use at home

		Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
		1	2	3	4	5
	Mean					
Speak to parents in Cantonese	1.32	72.4%	25.6%	0.5%	1.0%	0.5%
		*				
Speak to parents in English	3.85	0%	8.4%	20.2%	49.8%	21.7%
					*	

From the questionnaire results, the students indicate that they often pursue leisure time activities in Chinese (Cantonese). Cantonese television is the most popular, with a mean of 1.48 (always/often). Next is Cantonese song, 2.01 (often). For Chinese magazine, the mean is 2.28 (often). For English, the most popular category is song, 2.89 (sometimes). English TV, 3.2 (sometimes). English magazine, 3.74 (sometimes / seldom). It seems that they prefer Chinese to English when they are relaxing and pursuing leisure activities. (Table 4)

Table 4 Results of Part B Questions 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, Leisure time language use

		Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
		1	2	3	4	5
	Mean					
Watching Cantonese TV	1.48	61.1%	32.0%	4.9%	2.0%	0.0%
		*				
Listening to Cantonese songs	2.01	38.9%	33.0%	17.2%	9.9%	1.0%
			*			
Reading Chinese magazines	2.28	30.5%	30.0%	23.6%	12.3%	3.4%
			*			



Listening to English songs	2.89	10.4%	26.2%	34.2%	22.8%	6.4%
				*		
Watching English TV	3.20	2.5%	15.3%	44.8%	34.5%	3.0%
				*		
Reading English magazines	3.74	1.0%	5.0%	31.3%	44.8%	17.9%
					*	

In the interview, one reason they have given for not speaking in English is that their parents do not speak English. "... my daddy and mummy, they don't know much English, so I always speak to them in Chinese." (J) This is a practical reason. It also shows that English is not a common language for some families in Hong Kong. As indicated by the questionnaire results, 21.9% of the students reported that their parents do not speak English at all. Some parents discourage them from speaking English at home and specify the function of English is "only at school". (J) What the students describe here is similar to the finding of Li, "Cantonese is the dominant language of the home and informal communication with friends and peers ..." (Li 1999 p.70) Although some parents discourage their children from using English at home, may be because the parents do not speak English, the parents still support the children learning English at school and additional support is also provided as explained in 4.1.2. The use of English is related to work, study and the future, rather than the home or the present.

Another reason for not using English is that they think their English is not good enough. "Because when we use English, we don't know how to

say. Our English level is not so high so we dare not use English.” (C)  
This awareness of their own English standard is another theme that runs through the interviews. It is the reason given for not speaking to friends in English on the phone. “... if you say wrongly, he will misunderstand.” (V)

However, some English words or phrases have been used at home. This can reflect the common practice of using some English in the society of Hong Kong.

“... phrases like ‘good morning’.” (V)

“...phrase like ‘Thank you’.” (N)

This is the same as their use of phrases like ‘Hi’ with their friends and they do realize that “this is the habit of Hong Kong people to speak some Chinese and some English.” (T)

Depending on the English proficiency of their parents, those students who do use English at home, have different roles to play. They may be the learner even though they are not at school. “... sometimes my mum tells me the English words I don’t understand ... Then I talk to my mum, she tells me and I can understand.” (I) In some cases, they may be the teacher. “Sometimes when I speak in English, she (the parent) doesn’t understand she asks me to teach her ...” (L) Also, the parents may ask them to read English letters for them. “... there are some letters for my parents, they don’t understand and they let me read and I explain to them.” (J) (This point will be discussed in more detail in 4.4.1).

In the interviews, students give different reasons for not watching English TV. The first one is because of the other family members.

“If my family is at home, it has to be Chinese channel.” (S)

“... but when my parents watch TV, they will switch back to the Chinese channel.” (T)

This is similar to the reason they give for not using English at home -- the other family members (the parents) do not speak English.

The same reason applies to movies.

“For movies, my family usually rent the VCDs, usually the Chinese ones, very few English ones.” (T)

Another reason is that they cannot understand the English movies.

“I don’t watch movies on English channels because I don’t understand. They speak very fast.” (P)

The students’ English ability is not adequate for understanding English movies. However, there are other methods for using the first language to help. One is to listen to the dubbed Chinese version, another is to make use of the Chinese subtitles.

“I look at the subtitles.” (F)

“I read the Chinese subtitles.” (P)

Despite their difficulties in understanding English movies, their wish to improve in English drives them to watch the English programmes where possible:

“I have not watched many English movies, but I do, ... , if I listen more to the movies, to the pronunciation, it is helpful to me.” (M)

“I’ll switch to the English channel, ... I’ll try my best to listen ... even if I don’t understand.” (U)

This reflects their wish of speaking and listening more in English as will be discussed in Section 4.4.1.

Similar to speaking in Chinese, listening to Chinese songs is more relaxing for these students.

“... usually when I want to relax, I’ll listen to Chinese songs, because Chinese is my mother tongue!” (V)

“I seldom listen to English songs, because the English songs are too fast, I cannot understand ...” (V)

Here again it is the as yet inadequate level of their English which is given as the reason, as well as the affinity with mother tongue.

#### **4.1.4 Summary**

In summary, for these immersion students in Hong Kong, English is mainly used in the classroom. Occasionally, they use English among peers outside classrooms, and this is mostly for fun. There are signs that these students can use English in a CALP way. Similar to the findings in Canadian and Australian immersion studies, these students feel confident about being in the programme and treat the immersion programme as a challenge. Like their Canadian counterparts, they have more chances of listening to than speaking in English. In the context of their home,

Chinese is the dominant language.

#### **4.2 Sense of belonging to an EMI school**

The second research question was to find out how the students feel about having enrolled in the immersion programme.

Who made the choice of joining the immersion programme?

Did the pupils have a choice?

Would they prefer to have a choice?

Although these students agree that it is easier to understand Cantonese, they express a positive attitude about receiving education in English. They agree that they are happy to study at an EMI school (mean 2.09). They think their school is better than CMI schools (mean 2.22), their friends like to study in EMI schools (mean 2.47). Their response towards the statement “My friends who study in Chinese medium schools have happier lives” is 2.99 which is on the verge of no opinion (3). They have “No opinion” about statements that “EMI students are clever” (3.11), “Chinese lessons are more interesting” (3.26) and “Prefer CMI school” (3.37). (Table 5)

About half of these students (53.2%) say that their friends like to study in EMI schools. This shows their friends’ attitude to EMI school is quite positive. The students may have been influenced by their peers when they say that they are happy to study at an EMI school. (Table 5)

Table 5 Responses to Part C Statements 3, 19, 7, 13, 6, 14, 9, How do they see being allocated to an EMI school?

		Strongly agree	Agree	No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	Mean	1	2	3	4	5
Happy to study at an EMI school	2.09	26.7%	44.1%	24.3%	3.0%	2.0%
			*			
My school better than CMI	2.22	27.2%	32.7%	31.7%	7.4%	1.0%
			*			
Friends like to study in EMI school	2.47	20.2%	33.0%	28.1%	16.7%	2.0%
			*			
CMI students happier lives	2.99	7.4%	20.2%	44.8%	21.2%	6.4%
				*		
EMI students are clever	3.11	7.4%	18.2%	37.9%	28.6%	7.9%
				*		
Chinese lessons more interesting	3.26	3.4%	14.8%	41.9%	32.0%	7.9%
				*		
Prefer CMI school	3.37	3.9%	6.9%	48.3%	30.0%	10.8%
				*		

For the statement “I am very happy to study at an English medium school”, 26.7% indicated strongly agree and 44.1% agree. The total is 70.8%. The total of strongly disagree and disagree is 5%. 24.3% of them indicated no opinion. (Table 5) When asked about their feeling, 43.1% of the students feel happy about studying in an EMI school and 20.3% feel very happy. This is a total of 63.4% whereas the number of students who feel unhappy or very unhappy is only 2.5%. It can also be seen that one third of the students have no particular feeling. (Table 6) If

we look at the result to the two questions together, about 60% of the students are happy to be on the programme, about 30% have no opinion and about 5% are unhappy.

Table 6 Response to Part D Question a, Feeling about studying in an EMI school

Feeling about studying in an EMI school	Very happy	20.3%
	Happy	43.1%
	No particular feeling	34.1%
	Unhappy	1.5%
	Very unhappy	1.0%

In the interviews, most of the students said that the parents made the choice of their joining an EMI school.

“I don’t mind which one to study, my mum chose for me.” (O)

“My mum chose this one for me! I don’t mind, I was only afraid that I might enter a Chinese school.” (U)

“My parents, they always say this is a good school ...” (I)

“My mum chose for me ...” (F)

Teachers (from the primary schools) also helped in the choice.

“... the teacher said it is suitable for me. So they (the parents) put me into this school.” (H)

“... my mum asked the teacher, she chose this one and said it is suitable for me ...” (J)

“... then the primary school teacher talked to my parents and said this is better for me.” (L)

When they knew that they were allocated to an EMI school, they felt happy about it.

“I was very happy ...” (N)

“I felt happy.” (S)

“I felt very happy too.” (T)

“I was very happy to be able to attend an EMI school.” (K)

It seemed that, for some, their happiness is also a relief from the expectation of the parents.

“I was very happy because I was very afraid I could not come to the English secondary school and my parents would scold me.”  
(J)

However, their happiness is also accompanied by the fear of facing difficulties in studying in English.

“I was afraid it is very difficult to study in English ...” (I)

“When I learned that I could go to an EMI school, I was very afraid because English is not our mother tongue. I was afraid I cannot catch up ...” (L)

“... at first I was afraid, although my English is not bad I was afraid I cannot get used to ...” (M)

“I was afraid I cannot adapt to life in this EMI school.” (O)

There are some students who had no particular feeling about being allocated to an EMI school. This is similar to the questionnaire result which shows that one third of the students have no particular feeling about being put on an immersion programme.



“Nothing particular, nothing.” (P)

For these students, there are other factors for choosing a school, e.g. whether their friends are there and the location of the school, etc. They have no particular preference for CMI or EMI schools.

Some students indicated that at the time of choosing schools, they preferred the CMI schools but they changed their mind because of their parents’ advice.

“First when I chose schools, I wanted to choose CMI schools. But my parents wanted me to choose EMI schools.” (K)

“I wanted to enter CMI schools, they advised me to enter an EMI school.” (L)

Their impression about EMI schools seemed to change when they saw the reaction of their parents to their allocation.

“When they knew I was allocated (to an EMI school), my mum was happy.” (O)

“Then, at the allocation time, they (the parents) knew I could enter an EMI school. Then I saw that they laughed, I didn’t know why, for several nights ... I didn’t know why ... but now I know, maybe the future is better.” (L)

“They (the parents) ... quite happy. They never thought their son could enter an EMI school because my English was very weak.” (G)

This parental preference affected their attitude towards the immersion programme.

The way their peers reacted to the allocation may also have affected

their attitude.

“The parents and the schoolmates felt that CMI schools are not so good as EMI schools. Therefore, many people cried on that day.” (U)

“My classmates ... who have entered CMI schools, they chose EMI schools but entered CMI schools ... they were very unhappy ... they cried ... for a very long time.” (K)

“They (their friends) all showed that they wanted very much to enter EMI schools. They thought that all the EMI schools are good schools.” (J)

In the interview data, the students described that their friends felt that EMI schools are better. Also, their peers wanted very much to enter EMI schools. This reflects the questionnaire data in Table 5, where they say half of their friends (53.2% agree or strongly agree) like to study in EMI schools. The students' favourable attitude towards the EMI schools may have been influenced by their friends' preference for EMI schools.

The fact that they have been allocated to an EMI school is something they feel superior about.

“Then it showed that I was outstanding, very good performance.” (F)

“It is because if you graduate from an EMI school, you can be superior.” (S)

“They (the primary schoolmates) felt surprised, in my school, I was not the best, the better ones were allocated Chinese schools, they felt unhappy.” (V)

This showed an assumption among the parents and students that only

the best students would be allocated to the EMI schools.

They need English to survive in an EMI school, they need it in order to be good at their studies. Though it is a tremendous task, they accept it because of the status that EMI schools have in Hong Kong. There are many instances where the students show that EMI schools have high status in the society of Hong Kong. The students refer to their school as a “Band One” school. (In the Allocation System, the students are divided into three groups according to their academic achievement. Band One means the top group.) “I think that EMI schools are better because EMI schools are Band 1 schools.” (I) They also quote their parents and schoolmates as saying “... EMI schools are better than CMI schools.” (K) This idea is also supported by the questionnaire results. In the questionnaire, 60% of the students expressed the opinion that their school, an EMI school, is better than the CMI schools (Table 5, 59.9% agree or strongly agree to the statement “My school is better than a CMI school.”). There is also the association that EMI schools are “good” schools. “They thought that all the EMI schools are good schools.” (J) “I was allocated to a very good secondary school ... because it uses English as the medium of instruction.” (E) Thus, they feel good being in an EMI school.

The general opinion they expressed about the status of the EMI schools may explain why the questionnaire results showed that 70% of the students are happy to study in an EMI school (Table 5) and the interview data support the questionnaire result that they feel their school is better

than CMI schools. Furthermore, the students' attitudes reflect much of their parents' attitude which is generally in favour of English medium schools. This favourable attitude also affects the students' attitude towards English, which is overall quite positive. (To be discussed in 4.4)

As indicated by these students, the choice of joining the EMI school is usually made by the parents with some help from the teachers. The students were reluctant to make the choice at first because they feared the difficulty involved in using English. They changed their mind later, because of the reaction of the parents and the other schoolmates. Their reaction made them happy because they feel that the allocation to an EMI school is a symbol of belonging to the high status EMI schools in Hong Kong. Overall speaking, they are happy to be on the immersion programme.

In general, these pupils perceive having better English as the reason for participating in an immersion programme. They are not very happy about the arrangement at first because they know the difficulty involved. They are happy about it later because they have been affected by their parents', teachers' and schoolmates' response to their allocation.

Participation in the immersion programme in Hong Kong can be said to be voluntary. However, as the demand for immersion places is usually higher than the supply (Benson 1997), whether the student can take part in an immersion programme is decided by the government -- the Education and Manpower Bureau through the central allocation system. As a result

of the system, usually students with high academic achievement are allocated to EMI schools. As the students see that it is not easy to be allocated to an EMI school, this may account for their positive attitude towards the programme. The data indicate that their favourable attitude has been established before they are actually on the immersion programme.

#### **4.3 Attitudes towards the immersion programme**

The third research question focused on attitudes and in particular on attitudes to being taught in English:

What are their attitudes towards the immersion programme?

How do they see receiving education in English?

Do they prefer being taught in English?

What is their preference regarding the use of English in lessons?

Table 7 shows that about half of the students (96, 47.3%) are happy with the teachers using English at the present rate of 81-90% in lessons after about one term (Part D Question c). However, the overwhelming majority do not prefer teachers to speak in English for 91-100%. Only 9.4% of the students prefer 91-100%. It seems to indicate the present percentage is already the maximum for them. The second preference is 61-80%, about one-third of the students prefer this. These students prefer some more support from the first language. (Table 7)

Table 7    Response to Part D Question c, Do they prefer being taught in English?

How much English preferred to be used by teachers?	Percentage of English	Response
	91-100%	9.4%
	81-90%	47.3%
	61-80%	31.5%
	41-60%	6.4%
	21-40%	1.0%
	1-20%	4.4%

In Part C of the questionnaire, the students were asked to indicate the degree of agreement to some statements. The possible reason for students to prefer teachers to speak English 81-90% of the lesson time is reflected in their response to the statement that “When teachers speak in Cantonese, I can understand more”. About 65% of the students indicated strongly agree or agree. The mean response is 2.28, somewhere between agree and undecided. It seems that mother tongue would have made learning much easier. (Table 8)

Table 8    Response to Part C Statement 10, Attitude towards teachers’ use of language

		Strongly agree	Agree	No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree
		1	2	3	4	5
Teachers speak in Cantonese, can understand more	Mean					
		21.2%	42.9%	25.6%	7.4%	3.0%
	2.28	*				

How do these students feel about studying in an English school?

From the interview data, they all admitted having difficulties but it seemed it was at the beginning and they would not leave the programme even if they were given the choice. It seemed that they are quite willing to stay in the immersion programme. They do not seem to attribute their poor results to the English language.

“No, it’s the same thing, to study in Chinese and English is the same ... if your Maths. foundation is not good, you cannot say it is because of English.” (M)

“It is not a matter of English, because the formulae are similar to the Chinese ones.” (O)

They also point out that Chinese, as a subject, is equally, if not more, difficult.

“English is not very difficult, Chinese has a lot to be tested and the teachers use very difficult words, ... it is more difficult than English.” (U)

“For our classmates, our Chinese result is worse than our English result ...” (S)

They think that it is easier to understand English explanation.

“I absolutely cannot understand the Chinese explanations, I think English explanation is easier to understand.” (A)

These students do not feel that English is a hindrance to their studies. They feel that they have got used to learning in English. They do not feel

that English has made their performance in other subjects worse than using Chinese. No matter what their performance in the other subjects may be, they have favourable attitude to learning through English. This favourable attitude is comparable to the findings of Hauptman, Wesche and Ready (1988) about immersion university students in Canada who also developed positive attitudes after taking the immersion course.

It seems that they have got used to learning in English and think that learning in Chinese may be difficult for them to handle.

“If suddenly change IS (Integrated Science) and Geography to Chinese, I’m afraid I won’t understand.” (N)

“... sometimes I talk to my friends (from Chinese school) I don’t understand the Chinese Maths terms.” (O)

“... when you are in higher forms, my mum, my cousins tell me that it is better to study in English because for some special terms, they are translated from English. The Chinese terms are not natural, so I think studying in English is not bad!” (S)

“I have discussed with the senior forms, they think that after some time, it is easier to study in English than in Chinese!” (U)

Most of them think that changing to Chinese medium school is not a solution for the difficulties they encounter in studies. This finding is different from the findings of the studies before the streaming policy in 1998. The attitudes of these immersion students are different from the students who were in the immersion programme before the government’s streaming policy. More students at that time preferred Chinese medium (Johnson and Lee 1987). The present study shows that there is a change



in attitude.

As indicated above, these students will not change to Chinese medium programmes. This shows that there is no drop out problem as found in Canadian immersion programmes (Cummins 1995). The students will try different methods to cope with problems rather than changing to the Chinese medium schools. This is because the Chinese medium schools are not exactly an equal alternative to English medium schools in Hong Kong. As a result of the streaming policy by the government, it indirectly supports the parents' preference for EMI schools as Lin (1997) also argues.

Many of the students in this study think that if they do not do well in the examinations, it is due to their carelessness.

“... I usually copy the wrong question, mixing up ‘multiply’ and ‘divide’” (P)

“... just that my carelessness in Maths pulled me down.” (O)

“It’s so unfair, because I am always careless in reading the questions ...” (I)

Of course, the struggle between the two languages is not easy. As they are handling these languages, they may not be so sure about which language to use.

“I think it is easier to remember in Chinese, but sometimes I feel it is easier to remember in English” (T)

The students expressed difficulty in deciding on English or Chinese.

“If they (teachers) don’t speak in English, it will not work, listening less to English is not so good, but if they speak too much, sometimes we don’t understand.” (M)

They are keen on listening to more English in order to learn the language but if the teachers speak more English, they have difficulty in learning the content.

Their programme is content-driven. The purpose is to understand subjects such as Geography, History and Integrated Science. These students are aware that they need to be good in English in order to be good at other subjects. The fact that these students are aware of this dual purpose of their programme can be compared with the findings of Genesee (1987). Genesee finds that students on the Canadian immersion programme can learn the subject content and at the same time develop second language proficiency. Here the Hong Kong immersion students are trying to learn the other subjects and improve their English at the same time.

For these students, using English as the medium of instruction is difficult but it seems that they are quite positive about their situation. They think that if they are more careful and hard-working they can overcome the difficulties in their studies. No one expressed despair or desperation in the interviews.

#### **4.4 Language attitudes**

The fourth research question is:

What are their attitudes towards learning English?

##### **4.4.1 Motivation, importance of English and parental support**

The following sub-questions will be dealt with in this section.

Are they motivated to learn English?

Do they prefer learning English?

Are they positive about their language abilities?

Does the use of English cause anxiety for them?

What are their reasons for learning English?

Do they think learning English is useful for them?

Is there parental support for learning through English?

(a) Are they motivated to learn English?

Do they prefer learning English?

From the students' response to the statements in Part C of the questionnaire, it can be seen that these students agree that they like learning English (mean 2.16) (Table 9) but they also agree more strongly that learning English is more difficult (mean 2.84). They are not so sure about "Learning English is boring" (mean 3.62) and "Putonghua is more important to Hong Kong" (mean 3.65). (Table 10) The result shows that the students have positive attitudes towards learning English. Although

learning English is difficult, it is not boring. About 55% of them disagree that Putonghua is more important than English in Hong Kong. (Table 10)

Table 9 Result of Part C Statement 1, Do they prefer learning English?

		Strongly agree	Agree	No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree
		1	2	3	4	5
Like learning English	Mean	15.4%	57.2%	23.9%	2.5%	1.0%
	2.16		*			

Table 10 Result of Part C Statement 4, 20, 17, Are they motivated to learn English?

		Strongly agree	Agree	No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree
		1	2	3	4	5
English more difficult	Mean	10.0%	38.3%	18.4%	24.9%	8.5%
	2.84			*		
Learning English is boring		1.5%	6.4%	39.9%	33.5%	18.7%
	3.62				*	
Putonghua more important to Hong Kong		0.5%	3.0%	40.9%	42.9%	12.8%
	3.65				*	

(b) Are they positive about their language abilities?

Does the use of English cause anxiety for them?

These students are quite confident about speaking in English and 60% disagree that the other students will laugh at them if they speak in English. (Table 11) 58.1% of them estimated that they can only speak

some English, 27.1% think that they can always speak English, and 13.8% of them think that they can speak a little bit English. Only 1% think that they can speak English fluently but none of them think they cannot speak English at all. From their responses, they are quite positive about their English abilities. (Table 12)

Table 11 Result of Part C Statement 2, Does the use of English cause anxiety?

		Strongly agree	Agree	No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree
		1	2	3	4	5
Other students will laugh at me if I speak in English	Mean					
		1.5%	11.9%	26.7%	39.6%	20.3%
	3.65	*				

Table 12 Result of Part D Question f, Are they positive about their language abilities?

Do you think you can speak English?	Not at all	0.0%
	A little bit	13.8%
	Some	58.1%
	Always	27.1%
	Fluently	1.0%

(c) Is there parental support for learning through English?

One interesting comparison is that of their estimation of their parents’ English language speaking ability. 21.7% think that their parents do not speak English at all, while for themselves, none of them estimate that they do not speak English at all. The highest percentage (41.4%) think that

their parents speak a little bit English. (Table 13)

Table 13 Result of Part D Question e, Parents' English proficiency

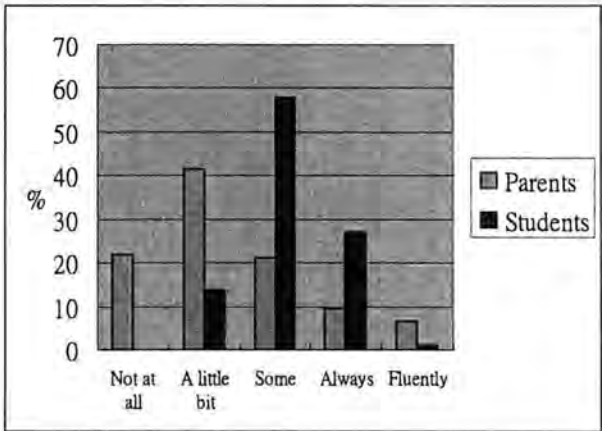
Parents speak English	Not at all	21.7%
	A little bit	41.4%
	Some	21.2%
	Always	9.4%
	Fluently	6.4%

A comparison of Table 12 and 13 shows that most of the students estimate that their English ability is higher than their parents'. (Table 14)

Table 14(a) Comparison of students' estimation of their own English proficiency and their parents'

	Parents	Students
Not at all	21.7%	0.0%
A little bit	41.4%	13.8%
Some	21.2%	58.1%
Always	9.4%	27.1%
Fluently	6.4%	1.0%

Table 14(b) Comparison of students' estimation of their own English proficiency and their parents'



One point of interest to be discussed from the questionnaire result is the correlation between type of housing and parents' English proficiency. It is found that more students from public housing estimated that their parents do not speak English at all or only a little bit. The Pearson Chi-square value is 19.823 ( $p < 0.01$ ). There is a correlation between the type of housing (family socio-economic background) and the parents' English proficiency. Another factor is academic achievement. More students from the group of positions 101-206 i.e. the academically weaker ones estimate that their parents do not speak English at all or only a little bit. The Pearson Chi-square value is 27.285 ( $p < 0.01$ ). There is also a correlation between the academic achievement and the parents' English proficiency.

So, it seems likely that parents want their children to be better at English than they are -- this is confirmed in the next table. Although the parents themselves may not be fluent speakers of English, they are quite positive about their children's learning of English. Their children think that their parents are happy that they study at an EMI school (1.64) and there is association with getting a better job in the future. They also help their children with their English (2.33). (Table 15)

Table 15 Result of Part C Statement 16, 5, 12, Parental support

		Strongly agree	Agree	No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	Mean	1	2	3	4	5
Parents think I can get a better job	1.63	49.3%	40.4%	8.9%	1.5%	0.0%
		*				
Parents happy that I study at EMI school	1.64	51.2%	36.9%	8.9%	2.5%	0.5%
		*				
Parents help me with my English	2.33	22.4%	40.8%	22.4%	10.0%	4.5%
		*				

(d) What are their reasons for learning English?

Do they think learning English is useful for them?

The students are positive about the reasons for learning English. Their answers to the four statements relating to this topic range from “Strongly agree” to “Agree”. The strongest reason for learning English is that it is useful for travelling overseas (mean 1.38). It is important for further studies (mean 1.59). English is also useful for getting a better job (mean 1.62). Overall speaking, for these immersion students, English is useful for them for travelling, studies and better careers. (Table 16)



Table 16 Result of Part C Statement 11, 8, 18, 15, Reasons for learning English

		Strongly agree	Agree	No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	Mean	1	2	3	4	5
English useful to me if I travel overseas	1.38	68.0%	28.1%	2.5%	1.0%	0.5%
		*				
English important to people of Hong Kong	1.54	55.2%	37.9%	5.4%	1.0%	0.5%
		*				
English important for future studies	1.59	47.8%	46.3%	4.9%	1.0%	0.0%
		*				
I can get a better job	1.62	48.8%	43.3%	5.4%	2.0%	0.5%
		*				

The interview data show that these students agree that English is important to them in their studies. From their own experience, they know that they need English to perform well in their other subjects. “If my English is better, then the other subjects can be better as well.” (E) English is essential for their studies. “English is very important, it is used in all the subjects, if your English foundation is not good, it is difficult to study well.” (M) “To study in an EMI school, I’d like my English to be better because I can do better in other subjects as well ...” (O) “Learning more English, your results will be better.” (E) These students are motivated to learn English because English can help them perform better in other subjects. These students, in their own words, are reflecting what earlier researches in Hong Kong have found out about the

importance of English. For example, in Hyland (1997), the university students agreed with the statement “The ability to communicate in English is very important for success in my subject at university”. The students in the present study, although they are younger than the university students in the 1997 study, share the same idea that English is important for studies. In the questionnaire, 47.8% of the students strongly agree and 46.3% agree to the statement that “English is important for my future studies.” (Table 16) The usefulness of English for studies is reflected once again.

The association of English with status and power is obvious. “If you don’t know English, you have to work like the construction workers.” (P) “... you can only have temporary jobs, hard jobs, etc.” (B) They have stated a very important reason for learning English -- to get a better job. They are reflecting the common view in the society of Hong Kong that English is the language of power and high status (Bolton 2002). The instrumental function of English is expressed. With English, the idea of good jobs comes along. “I think the reason for studying in English is to get a better job, it is better to have good English.” (M) They reflect the view that employers are looking for employees with good English. “Yes, English is important because if your English is not good, it will be difficult for you to get a job in the future.” (B) This view was deep-rooted from the days of colonial power when the government and companies preferred employing people who spoke English. “... the companies always employ people with good English.” (M) “My mum tells me to learn English

better, learn better, the more, the better because it is easier to get a job in the future.” (T) The data here are also supported by the questionnaire data. In the questionnaire, 89.7% of the students indicated strong agreement or agreement to the statement “My parents think that I can get a better job if my English is better.” (Table 15) 92.1% of them indicate strong agreement or agreement to the statement “I can get a better job if my English is better.” (Table 16) These students have indicated that their attitudes have been affected by parental attitude. This is consistent with other findings in the literature (Brown 1981) i.e. attitude is a result of parental attitude, peer attitude, contact with other people and other affective factors.

This finding that English is necessary for getting a better job has occurred in the language attitudes surveys in Hong Kong from the 1970s to the year 2000. (Fu 1975, Pierson and Fu 1982, Pennington and Yue 1994 and Boyle 2000) The students here are echoing the general attitude of students towards English in Hong Kong for the last thirty years.

English is also viewed as a valuable asset. They think that English is the key to other opportunities and can help them win in future competitions. “I think it is very important because Hong Kong people always speak in English, if you don’t know it, you’ll be outraced by others!” (I) “If you don’t know English, don’t know where you can go.” (J) Whether they have picked up these views from their parents or the media, they reflect the general societal attitude in Hong Kong that English

is associated with success; English as a high status language in Hong Kong is reflected in their views. As explained by So (1992), English is the language of upward and outward mobility in Hong Kong.

The students in this study also see the actual need of English for certain professions, particularly tourism.

“If you are in the sales business, if there are tourists, and if you don’t know English, you don’t understand what he says, you lose business chance!” (K)

“For tourism, it is better too. If your English is not good, they will not employ you.” (E)

“... many tourists come here, if you know how to speak in English, you can communicate with the tourists!” (K)

“If you speak English, it’s easier to have trade, to do business, it’s easier to adapt and easier to talk.” (S)

They know that English is necessary for trade and business. What is more, English is important to Hong Kong as a city.

“We can reinforce our position in the country.” (U)

“The developmental potential of Hong Kong is based on English. The superiority of Hong Kong over the other cities is that Hong Kong’s English is better.” (D)

English is thus a valuable asset not only to individuals but to society as a whole. This is also supported by the response to the statement in the questionnaire “English is important to the people of Hong Kong”. 55.2% indicated strong agreement and 37.9% indicated agreement to it. (Table 16)

These students, younger than Hyland’s subjects and living after the

handover of sovereignty, are expressing a similar attitude as expressed in the following statement: "The use of English is one of the most important factors in Hong Kong's prosperity and development today." (Hyland 1997, p.198) This statement was the fifth most strongly agreed statement in Hyland's survey. The university students in 1997 thought that English is important to the development of Hong Kong and the junior secondary students in this study think in a similar way too.

The importance of English for international communication is also mentioned.

"If we go to another country and talk to others, if they don't speak Chinese, we should talk to them in English, so we should learn better." (T)

They are aware of the fact that English is an "international language".

"You can nearly communicate with anyone in the world without problem." (V)

"... in the future, if there are foreigners in the company, it will be difficult to communicate with them." (V)

"They say if you speak English you can go everywhere all over the world, half of the countries in the world use of English as the main language. If you speak English, you can communicate with many people." (S)

This is supported by the questionnaire result that students show strong agreement to the statement "English is useful if I travel overseas" (mean = 1.38). (Table 16)

They are able to see Hong Kong in relation to other cities in China, as

well as in the world. These students are expressing a point of view similar to that of the university students in Littlewood and Liu's study in 1996 -- English is important as an international language.

The following summarises how these students perceive the importance of English:

- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| Personal level | -- important for studies  |
|                | -- can get good jobs  |
|                | -- add to one's competitive edge  |
| Society level  | -- required for certain professions and economic activities of the society as a whole |
|                | -- can compete with other Chinese cities  |
|                | -- important for international communication  |

As indicated by the questionnaire and interview data, these students express positive attitudes towards the English language. In the study of bilingual education, it has been found that positive attitudes generally bring about higher proficiency. In turn, success in learning brings about positive attitudes (Stern 1983). As these students who have been allocated to the immersion programmes usually belong to the top 30% in academic achievement of the student population (Education Department 1997), it is quite understandable that they have such positive attitudes.

When these immersion students give reasons for the importance of English and reasons for learning it, they give reasons like present/future studies, future careers and international communication. This is similar

to what Gardner and Lambert (1972) called 'instrumental motivation'. They have not indicated that they have an affective predisposition toward the target cultural group. In fact, when asked whether they would like to live abroad, some of them indicated that they do not prefer to do so.

"I will not. Because you cannot adapt immediately and I'm not familiar with that place." (H)

"I will not go, money, and also my family will worry about me, in such a strange environment, so many problems." (E)

This instrumental orientation is consistent with earlier findings with older students (Boyle 1997b, Hyland 1997). As considered by Boyle on a number of earlier surveys, "... attitudes to English have always been very pragmatic -- better English equals better business." (Boyle 1997, p.6) These students, who are beginning their secondary studies, are expressing similar attitudes as expressed by senior secondary students or university undergraduates from the 1970s to the 1990s, that the motivation for learning English is more of the instrumental orientation rather than the integrative orientation.

However, despite the importance the students attach to English, the fact that Chinese is the natural and dominant language cannot be denied. In the interviews, the word "Chinese" was used to mean Cantonese. For these students, Chinese is Cantonese since in general, among the Hong Kong people, Chinese means Cantonese. Although some other varieties of Chinese are spoken in Hong Kong, Cantonese is the language

associated with the majority of Hong Kong people. When Putonghua is mentioned, it is referred to as another language, to be used if you need to work or study in China. “Just speak in Putonghua, not too difficult.” (G)

During the interview, it was understood among the speakers that Chinese means Cantonese. This is a general habit of Hong Kong people. The word Cantonese is used only when people intend to contrast it with other varieties. “Chinese is our mother tongue.” (E) There is an explicit reference to the fact that Chinese (Cantonese) is an easier language for them. “... Chinese is our language, I learned it the moment I was born, it is easier to understand.” (K)

The fact that Chinese/Cantonese is easier is associated with feelings of relaxation and closeness. This explains why Chinese is preferred as the language among friends and past-time activities.

“Usually after lesson I will ask in Chinese, because Chinese is my mother tongue ... I am more fluent.” (V)

“If you see good friends, Chinese feels more close.” (U)

“... because if you speak in English, he will think you are Chinese, why do you speak in English?” (S)

Another refers to the affinity with music:

“.. usually when I want to relax, I'll listen to Chinese songs, because Chinese is my mother tongue!” (V)

Although Chinese/Cantonese is so much easier for these students, they do not plan to give up their English. They will not change to a CMI



school, i.e. they will not prefer studying through the medium of Chinese. Two important reasons have been expressed by these students. One is sense of belonging to an EMI school, and the other one is a related reason, the high status of the EMI schools in Hong Kong. These two points have been discussed in the previous section (4.2).

The attitudes expressed by these immersion students can be compared to what Li (2002) described as “a love-hate complex” for the Hong Kong people’s attitude towards English. On the one hand, English is difficult and is not part of everyday life. On the other hand, there is an awareness that English is “a key” to “many doors”. Some people will attach more importance to the usefulness of English while some will emphasize the difficulty of learning it. It seems that the immersion students here are paying more attention to the usefulness of English rather than the difficulty.

#### **4.4.2 Attitude to English speakers**

This section deals with the following sub-question:

What are their attitudes to the English speakers?

In general, these students have little chance of talking to native English speakers.

“Only sometimes listen to English in the street, not speak, when I hear the foreigners speak in English, I’ll try to see if I can understand, but I rarely speak!” (U)

“I seldom speak to foreigners, except the English classes where the foreigners are teaching us ...” (S)

As they seldom talk to English speakers, they have two types of reaction. One is of anxiety and the other is admiration and positive attitude.

The following quotes are examples of their anxiety.

“I have no courage to speak to them.” (S)

“... it is difficult to communicate with them.” (V)

“Maybe if I speak to foreigners, I will feel nervous.” (H)

Their basic worry is their own language competency, they feel that their English is not good enough to communicate with English speakers. From the questionnaire, 58% estimated that they can speak some English and 14% estimated that they can speak only a little bit English. (Table 12) The interview data showed that their anxiety is that they may have misunderstanding or failure to communicate with foreigners.

“.. our English is not accurate, he may not understand what we talk about...” (J)

“I’m afraid if I make mistakes, they ... They will laugh at me...” (H)

This nervousness is similar to the finding of Richards (1998) about senior secondary students. The students in that study reported feeling nervous when having to speak in English.

The reasons given for not speaking in English to foreigners are not

related to a dislike of other cultures, or any threat to their own cultural identity, it is only a worry about their own English competency. They also indicated that if they were competent they would not mind speaking to foreigners. “If my ability is OK of course I will ...” (E)

Paulston (1992) mentioned the importance of learning sociolinguistic rules in being bilingual, what Hymes (1972) calls ‘communicative competence’ for the second language learner. The students interviewed here expressed that the reason they do not like to talk to foreigners is that they are afraid of making mistakes and creating misunderstanding. “No, what if I make them angry, what can I do?” (H) “I don’t want to speak to foreigners because my English is not good. If I speak wrongly, I’ll feel sorry.” (F) In a sense, they showed that there is a degree of difference between being able to speak in English at school and being able to carry out a conversation with foreigners, bearers of another culture. Some of them mentioned the behaviour of listening or understanding first, rather than speaking face to face with foreigners. Indirectly, they have expressed their awareness of a cultural difference in learning another language. They may also be aware of the difference in sociolinguistic rules when using another language.

Some students expressed positive attitude about the foreigners (meaning English speakers). When asked about whether they would like to talk to foreigners in English, they have the following response.

“I like to talk to foreigners because they are warmer and always

willing to answer.” (I)

Students who like to talk to foreigners do so for the reason of learning English from them.

“If you talk in English, they use accurate English, you can improve yourself.” (B)

“To speak to a foreigner you need to be better in English. If our English is not good, we cannot understand even if we speak. So we can improve.” (A)

They did not appear to have an awareness of ‘native speakers’ but only of English speakers. They seemed to think that the English speakers speak a better variety of English.

“The foreigners, they speak, the rhythm they speak and the intonation, it is difficult to learn, you need to experience it.” (D)

“Yes, I like to because they have more nasal sounds, most accurate if I listen more, it’s helpful to me.” (N)

“... the adjudicator spoke accurately and she could control her voice well, very clearly...” (O)

Paulston (1992) suggests that “children must have access to Anglo teachers, if they are to learn the rules of mainstream culture.” Some of these students also suggested having foreign teachers teaching them English. “Have more foreign teachers to teach me.” (B) This reflects their awareness that somehow foreign teachers are different from the Chinese teachers they have now. Even if they could not understand the foreign teacher, they still thought the experience of having a foreign teacher was “great” because his English was “superb”. Another thought

that foreign teachers “have more nasal sounds”, which sounded good to him. Their attitude to the English speakers is quite positive.

“I’d like to talk to foreigners at least I know if he can understand me or not.” (M)

These students seem to have a more favourable attitude to the English speakers than the subjects in the earlier matched-guise studies (Gibbons 1983). The students from the 1980’s rated the English speakers more negatively. One possible reason is the comparatively less number of English speakers that the students can contact. It can be seen from the interviews with these students that they are learning English from bilingual Chinese teachers. Outside school, they do not have much contact with English speakers. They have cited examples of meeting some tourists, overhearing foreigners’ conversations. They do not have much social contact with English speakers, except one of the students who have been on a summer exchange programme. Maybe the students in the 1980s had more contact with English speakers because the government was British and there were more foreigners working in Hong Kong before 1997. The British were the ruling class then and it might have affected the students’ attitudes at that time.

Overall speaking, the students’ attitude to English speakers is based on the judgement of their English ability. This is similar to Richards’ finding in 1998 that status and competence is associated with people who can speak English fluently. In a way, their attitude is a reflection of the

general attitude in Hong Kong society.

#### **4.4.3 Cultural identities of these students**

The sub-question “What is their cultural identity?” will be dealt with in this section. This question is looked at because in the early language attitude studies in Hong Kong (Fu 1975, Pierson, Fu and Lee 1980), it was found that the use of English was associated with a fear of loss of cultural identity.

Learning English does not seem to affect their cultural identity. The questionnaire result shows that 47.8% of the students consider themselves to be Hongkonger. 36.5% of them feel that they are Hong Kong Chinese, only 15.8% think they are “Chinese”. (Table 17) As Hong Kong is a special administrative region of China, as reflected in the phrase, “one country, two systems”, some people will emphasize the idea of one country, Hong Kong is just one part of the country of China; some may emphasize two systems, Hong Kong is very much different from other cities in China. Someone who considers himself as a Chinese considers more of his ethnic heritage from China. Some who calls themselves a Hong Konger have more sense of belonging to Hong Kong than China. A Hong Kong Chinese is someone who feels both the importance of the Chinese and the Hong Kong identity. The findings about these immersion students can be compared with the findings of Lau (1997) and Wong (1999). In their research on identity in Hong Kong, they find that

Hong Kong people have a strong Hong Kong identity. For these students, about half of them emphasise that they are from Hong Kong. About 40% feel that they have dual identity of Hong Kong and China. And about 15% feel that they are Chinese.

Table 17 Result of Part D Question d Cultural identity

a Chinese	15.8%
a Hong Kong Chinese	36.5%
a Hong Konger	47.8%

There was no direct question on the students' identity in the interviews. Whether they refer to themselves as a Chinese, a Hong Konger or a Hong Kong Chinese comes embedded when they answer other questions. Their ideas, therefore, are natural references rather than answers to a question regarding their identity. Their perception, as expressed in the interviews, is similar to the result of the questionnaire response. In the questionnaire, it seems that the majority of the students say that they are Hongkonger. In the interviews, many instances of referring to being Hongkonger are observed. The phrase "Hong Kong people" is often used in the interview indicating the students' sense of belonging to Hong Kong: "... most Hong Kong people speak some Chinese and some English." (T) "... few of them (people overseas) are Hong Kong people." (V) They are aware that they belong to Hong Kong and refer to Hong Kong people's habits to support their own actions, e.g. "Hong Kong people always speak in English, if you don't know it, you

will be outraced by others.” (I) This is in effect saying that speaking in English is common and will not threaten the identity of being a Hongkonger. This is similar to Axler et al’s finding in 1998 that using English is not a threat to a Hong Kong Chinese identity. The result found here is also similar to Pierson’s finding about university undergraduates in 1994, his subjects perceived Hong Kong Chinese identity as more important than Chinese identity. Lau (1997) also found that Hong Kong people have a strong identity. Here in the questionnaire, 36.5% of the students opted for the Hong Kong Chinese identity and only 15.8% opted for the Chinese identity. (Table 15)

These students are quite aware of the special nature of Hong Kong, that it was once ruled by Britain, and now returned to China, that Hong Kong is not the same as the other Chinese cities. “We were ruled by Britain in the past, so English has a great influence. So, fundamentally I think English is very important.” (C) “Hong Kong is a place where the Chinese and English culture meet, you always meet foreigners in the street.” (O) They see Hong Kong as competing against the other Chinese cities, exactly because Hong Kong is different. “I think most of the development potential of Hong Kong is based on English. The superiority of Hong Kong over the other cities is that Hong Kong’s English is better.” (A) The association of English with status and power is not only on the individual level but also on the societal level. “If we can communicate more in English ... we can reinforce our position in the



country.” (U) “... the only merit for Hong Kong is that you can help China to use English to contact the outside world.” (O) As English is seen as an important language, the fact that Hong Kong people can speak English makes it of more importance in China. This may be the reason why 47.8% of these students emphasize a Hong Kong identity rather than a Chinese identity.

The immersion students in the present study have no doubts about being Hongkonger and their Cantonese is not under threat outside school. Their purpose of attending English medium schools is to acquire a fuller English competence. Learning English does not pose a threat to their cultural or ethnic identity. This is similar to Boyle’s finding, “... there has been a diminution of the feeling that learning English is a threat to Chinese identity ...” (Boyle 2000 p.78) Perhaps these immersion students are similar to other people in Hong Kong who tend to claim themselves to be both Hongkongers and Chinese (Lau 1997).

#### **4.5 Summary of findings**

For the bilingual students in this study, English is mostly used in the classrooms. On the one hand, there are rules and regulations set by the school to use English in the classrooms. On the other hand, these students feel that it is necessary to use English because English is useful in the future. Cantonese is used mostly with friends at school. However, they have also developed a growing affective dimension in the use of

English as a kind of fun, experimenting with the language.

Cantonese is also the dominant language at home. They prefer Chinese TV programmes, movies and songs more than the English ones.

The choice of the immersion programme was mainly made by the parents. The students are happy to stay on the course and they indicate a strong sense of belonging to the EMI school. When they face difficulties in studies, they feel that hard-work and care can overcome them.

They express positive attitudes towards the English language. When they encounter difficulties in the immersion programme, they try to develop various strategies to cope with the difficulties. They have positive attitudes to English speakers although they do not have confidence in their English ability to speak to them.

These students are motivated to learn English because it is helpful to their studies. They also believe English is related to better career opportunities and English is important for Hong Kong because of its importance in international communication. These findings are similar to earlier findings in language attitudes in Hong Kong (Boyle 1997, Hyland 1997). The findings here also reflect the changing trend from the 1980s that use of English was a threat to cultural identity (Pierson, Fu and Lee 1980) to the more recent finding that using English is no longer a threat (Axler et al 1998). The attitudes of this group of younger immersion students are similar in many aspects to that of the older students in earlier studies.

## **5. Conclusion**

The purpose of this thesis has been to investigate and understand the experience of some Cantonese speaking Chinese students of a Hong Kong secondary school which uses English as the medium of instruction. By interpreting the views of these students, I tried to gain an understanding of the role of English in the education system of Hong Kong.

In Chapter One, the context of this study i.e. the language situation in Hong Kong was looked at. The context was presented to show the significance of the study because of the way the education medium policy has developed and its relation to the social and economic development in Hong Kong. I argued that the programme which I have investigated could be compared to immersion bilingual programmes in other countries even though this is not a phrase which is used in Hong Kong. In Chapter Two, I carried out an analysis of the literature on immersion programmes, on language use and on language attitudes. This led to the formulation of the specific research questions which determined the empirical part of my thesis. The empirical project required collection of data from one class of pupils in the school where I teach. In Chapter Three, I reviewed the options for data collection. The problems with participant observation and large-scale surveys were considered, I finally opted for the case study of using group interviews and questionnaires. In Chapter Four, the data from the questionnaire and interviews were analysed. The immersion pupils' language use in the classroom, outside the classroom and at home,

their attitude towards the immersion programme, and their language attitudes were discussed. The findings were also discussed in relation to findings from earlier studies and from studies elsewhere. In this chapter, a summary of the findings and the significance of this study will be discussed in the context of the issue of the medium of instruction policy in Hong Kong.

### **5.1 Summary and discussion**

In this study, we have looked at the language immersion programme as it was carried out in Hong Kong around 2003 through the eyes of the participants i.e. the junior secondary students.

The following is a summary of the main points drawn from the interview and questionnaire data.

- (a) What is the experience like for these pupils who have received about one year of immersion education?

The pupils know that the teachers all speak Cantonese. However, it is a kind of agreement that teachers will not speak in Cantonese in the lessons. It has been found that students accept that it is necessary to speak to teachers in English. First, it is compulsory to do so inside classrooms. Second, they know that this is the only way to have better English. After the lesson, there is a degree of variation in the use of English and Cantonese. The students also showed some difference in

their opinion regarding whether the teachers should speak in Cantonese or English. Some of them prefer teachers to keep on using English so that they can develop their English language skills. Some prefer to use Cantonese with teachers for ease of communication and developing closer personal relations. There is always the need for English and the need for a better teacher/student relationship. (4.1.1)

It was also found in these Hong Kong immersion classrooms that the students do not have much chance of extended discourse in the second language, English. This is similar to Genesee's findings in Canada (1994). In the future development of immersion programmes in Hong Kong, teachers' attention can be drawn to provide more chances for students to develop their speaking skills.

These students, in their own experience, suggest that teachers can draw, and use other cues to let them understand. This reflects Swain's findings in 1985 that it is necessary for the immersion teachers to use a variety of methods to help the students understand. (4.1.1)

The students also discussed the major disadvantage of the immersion programme. They explain how one simple word, if they do not understand it, is enough to obstruct their understanding of the lesson. This shows that communication in the Hong Kong immersion classroom is dependent on the language rather than on the context clues. However, this difficulty has caused them to reflect on their learning. They are particularly observant of how the teachers use English and in their free

time they practise the way the teachers use English. The difficulty with English has helped them to develop language learning strategies. The ability that these students have developed to think about their learning is really an important achievement of the immersion programme.

The way the students are able to describe their coping strategies shows that they are trying to deal with the content as well as the language. This shows that the main objective of the immersion approach, that students gain content and language at the same time (Met 2000), is realised in this Hong Kong programme.

The students admitted to having parental support. The parents are mostly positive about their child attending English schools and many of them provide extra support in the form of providing supplementary English learning materials, or English tutorials. (4.1.2)

When the students reported their use of language outside the school, it is consistent with other language reports about Hong Kong. Cantonese is the dominant language. English phrases are used within the Cantonese sentences, a common practice in Hong Kong. English is used only when the students feel that they need to practise using it. (4.1.3)

These students are quite clear about the different functions of the two languages. English is the language of the classroom. Cantonese is the language among peers and is used most of the time but it is interspersed with English words, which they think is the habit of Hong Kong people. Among friends, they may sometimes experiment with the language and

speak in English for fun. English is usually spoken only as a game, in the context of 'play', particularly when imitating their teachers. There is a growing affective dimension in these immersion students' relationship to English. (4.1.2) Cantonese is also the language of the home. However, since they are in the immersion programme, some of them use English words in their Cantonese conversation. They may be reminded by their parents to use English only at school. These students are beginning to master a second language and whether they use one language or the other is affected by the rules set by the others e.g. teachers and parents.

(b) Who made the choice of joining the immersion programme?

Usually, the parents made the choice of joining the immersion programme. At first, the students themselves preferred the CMI schools because they feared the difficulties in studying in English. However, their attitude changed when they saw their parents' and their peers' reaction to their allocation. They felt happy when being allocated to an EMI school because EMI schools are considered as good schools and have high status in Hong Kong. (4.2)

(c) What are their attitudes towards the immersion programme?

Immersion programmes have been carried out for different purposes in different parts of the world e.g. language maintenance, enrichment and additive bilingualism. For the students in this study, participating in the

immersion programme is essentially to have better English. This is for additive bilingualism because English is a useful language for them, particularly for the future. They are reflecting what the people around them, e.g. the parents, the teachers, their peers, the senior students are telling them, that they need English. This is similar to other situations where English is useful for studies and employment (Duff 1997) and is a consequence of the rise of English as the world language, an issue which is often discussed in Hong Kong. The role and importance of English in the economy of Hong Kong has been discussed in Chapter One.

The subjects of this study, the junior secondary students, hold similar reasons for studying English with the university undergraduates and senior secondary students as investigated in earlier studies in Hong Kong (Hyland 1997). English is important for studies, for international communication, for gaining access to good jobs or universities. However, they are different in that they do not feel the uneasiness and nervousness when having to speak in English as found in earlier studies (Fu 1975, Gibbons 1983 and Richards 1998). This has been discussed in 4.2.

The Hong Kong immersion students in this study have said that they have difficulty with studying in an immersion programme but they also explained their efforts and coping strategies. They are not going to give up. They are quite willing to accept the challenges offered by the immersion programme. In this way, their perception is similar to other immersion students in Canada and Australia (Foster 1998, Berthold 1995).



These students have compared their own studies with the students in the non-immersion programmes. They find that their friends in the non-immersion programmes also have to learn the subject terms in English. This convinces them that immersion programmes are not more difficult than non-immersion programmes. The senior students also tell them that they need English in the senior forms and they think it is better to start earlier. They think that as they need English in the universities, English is important for them and they think studying in an EMI school is good for them. Their views are in a way a reflection of the general view in Hong Kong that English is needed for its development. It can be found in official documents.

“Hong Kong does have a practical need for a workforce with a high level of English proficiency in order to maintain her competitiveness as an international commercial and financial centre.” (Education Commission, 2005, p.5)

It is also expressed in the media.

“An international city with cyber-world aspirations needs schools that teach in the language of business and modern science.” (S.C.M.P. Nov 22 1999)

The official policy is that Hong Kong needs English for its competitiveness and many people feel that studying through English is a way to acquire high English proficiency. The pupils here feel that they need English, probably for future use. They are in a sense repeating the official policy and their views may have been affected by their parents, the teachers, the senior students and their peers.

(d) What are their attitudes towards learning English?

For these bilingual immersion students, the two languages, Chinese and English, are associated with different ideas. Chinese is the mother tongue, easier to understand, linked with relaxation, closeness and ethnicity. English is important for studies, future jobs, and international communication. It is related to status, power and future success. (4.4.1)

On the one hand, these students admit that it may be easier to study through the medium of Cantonese, on the other hand, they are willing to accept the use of English because they see the future significance of English. (Section 4.1.1) English is useful for study, work and overseas travels. (Section 4.4.1)

The perception of these students is a reflection of the general perception in Hong Kong.

“Cantonese ... enjoys a pre-eminent position, not only in intimate domains such as family and friends, but also in employment, public life, social activities ...” (Bolton 2002, p.36)

“There is no social or cultural role for English to play among Hong Kong Chinese; it only has a role in their relations with expatriates and the outside world.” (Johnson 1994, p.182)

They do not have much chance of contact with English speakers and they feel anxiety and admiration for their English proficiency. (4.4.2)

Their attitude can be compared with what Kachru termed ‘native speaker idealization myth’ (Kachru 1997). For these students, the

idealization is that of the speakers of English, not necessarily the native speakers. In Hong Kong, this 'exocentric norm' is common and some academics have attributed this to the fact that there is not a local variety of Hong Kong English.

“There is no such thing then as ‘Hong Kong English’. There is neither the societal need nor opportunity for the development of a stable Cantonese variety of spoken English.” (Luke and Richards 1982, p.55)

It is the idea that English is for communication with the outside world, therefore, the norm is that of the speakers of English. Since English is not usually used among the Chinese in Hong Kong, there is not a strong support of a local variety of English with its own norms and expectations.

Although these students are studying through the English language, this does not seem to affect their cultural identity. As Hong Kong is predominantly a Chinese society, and in the school population, there is only one native speaking English teacher, despite the exposure to the English language, the cultural identity of these students is quite stable. They see themselves as Hongkongers and they are behaving quite similarly to the other Hongkongers, they speak Cantonese most of the time, but they emphasize the need to learn English. Although the use of English is limited for certain purposes, the use of English can distinguish Hong Kong from the other Chinese cities. (4.4.3) It is generally believed that people in other Chinese cities do not have a widespread use of English as in Hong Kong.

The students indicate that they prefer to stay on the immersion programme. They also said that their parents and peers prefer EMI schools as well. The result shows that, after the handover of sovereignty in 1997, EMI schools are still popular i.e. English is still perceived as useful to the people of Hong Kong. For the students themselves, they are, on the whole, quite happy to study in English, despite the difficulties.

## **5.2 Current developments**

The Education Commission published a report by the Working Group on Review of Medium of Instruction for Secondary School and Secondary School Place Allocation for public consultation in 2005. The basic policy is quite similar to the Medium of Instruction Guidance for Secondary Schools (1997).

“In principle, all secondary schools should adopt mother-tongue teaching at the junior secondary levels. There is no objection to individual schools using English as the MOI if they fully meet the prescribed criteria of student ability, teacher capability and support measures.” (Education Commission 2005, p.11)

It seems that the immersion programme as it is investigated in this study will continue to operate in Hong Kong.

One special point about this report is that the review is about two issues -- the MOI policy and the Secondary School Places Allocation. This allocation by the government is what makes the immersion programme in Hong Kong special. It is not just an alternative

programme that pupils can choose to join or not. Even if the pupils or the parents prefer the immersion programme, they have to wait and see if they can be allocated. As expressed by the pupils, the fact that they have been allocated to an EMI school made them feel very special. The reaction of the people around them e.g. the parents and the schoolmates made them feel that it is very special to be allocated to EMI schools.

When looking at the views of these students, it is necessary to remember that they are the top 40% achievers in the Chinese and English subjects in their primary schools. This is why they can be allocated to the English immersion programmes according to the government policy in 1997. (Section 1.2) The fact that they are quite motivated and willing to deal with the difficulties arising from English medium learning may be a result of their success and achievement in their studies.

In this report by the working group, quite a number of pages are devoted to the benefits of mother-tongue teaching. The mass media have also been used by the EMB to promote mother-tongue education. On the one hand, the government allows EMI schools to continue. On the other hand, the benefits of EMI education seem to be downplayed by the working group. The report does not include any benefits of EMI education while two pages are devoted to the benefits of mother tongue education in relation to the 'teaching and learning process', 'personal growth and learning attitudes' and 'academic performance' (Education Commission 2005, p.7 & 8).

From the present study, it has been found that the junior secondary immersion students are able to develop strategies to handle content-learning through English and also learning English. They have developed strategies in helping themselves to learn English, have sought help from parents or tutors, have helped one another adapt to this new mode of learning. They also enjoy using and experimenting with English. If English were studied only as a subject, they may not have developed the strategies to such a degree. As said by these students, the EMI course is quite beneficial to them. As such, it is strange to find in the report that all the additional resources are provided for the CMI schools. The CMI schools are provided with six times more additional financial support than the EMI schools. The result of the present study shows that EMI courses can help students to develop their self-esteem and learning strategy. Perhaps, the achievement of EMI courses can be given more recognition by the authorities.

It has not been mentioned in the report how many schools will be allowed to be EMI schools. The government is still seeking public consultation up to July 2005. The result of this study shows that students in this EMI school have positive attitudes towards the immersion programme and learning English, students of comparable ability, given the social context of Hong Kong, can be given the chance of attending immersion programmes. Due to Hong Kong's position as a financial and commercial centre in Asia, it needs English for its economic development.

As shown by this study, EMI schools can help the students develop their English content learning is evident, and there is no adverse effect on their identity, EMI schools seem to have a certain value to be kept in Hong Kong.

### **5.3 Suggestions for further research**

The students interviewed in this study are the junior secondary students at an EMI school in Hong Kong. It would be of interest to interview a group of CMI students to find out if their attitudes are the same or not. Their motivation to study English, their language use and their cultural identity can be compared with the results of the present study.

Another possibility is to interview this group of students again at the end of their programme and see if they have any changes in their attitude. One possibility is that the subject content of the first year of study may be easier for them to handle. It may be another matter to handle more cognitively demanding tasks at the later stages of the immersion programme. This is also another area of interest for investigation.

Another possibility is to carry out a more full scale study which will include lesson observations, taping the actual language used by the students at school and at home and study the language attitude of the parents and teachers directly. This widened scope of data will provide more evidence for the choice of language of instruction in Hong Kong.

In the much longer term, it would also be interesting to see what careers these students have and how their facility with English gives them more job opportunities, as is a general expectation in the society of Hong Kong. It may also be interesting to investigate whether they become less Chinese with their further grasp of the English language and western culture. Their identity concept might change and this might be an area of interest to be pursued further.

#### **5.4 Reflections**

This study is interesting to me because when I carried out the study I was collecting data directly from the students. It is interesting to find some common themes expressed by the students in the different interviews. It is also interesting to hear their happy and unhappy moments in school, their aspirations for the future and how they complemented one another in their responses to the questions. Later, when studying the interview scripts, although the data processing is time-consuming and painstaking, the discovery of the relationship among the ideas is a rewarding experience. Although the findings are modest, the understanding of the ways the students behaved and thought makes the study worth the time and effort that has been spent.

As the main purpose of this study is to understand the students' language use and language attitudes, most of the data are reported by the students. The advantage of this approach is to look at the immersion



situation from the point of view of the subjects. However, such an approach can incur criticism. For example, it can be criticised that the results are only reported behaviours, not behaviour itself (Flowerdew, Li and Miller 1998). With the use of the interview, there is always the danger that the subjects answer in such a way that they think the interviewer would like to hear (Boyle 1997). Attitude questionnaires have been criticised for not truly reflecting attitudes (Bourhis 1982, Baker 1992). Measures have been taken to improve the trustworthiness of the data (as explained in Chapter 3), however, these limitations have to be heeded.

## **5.5 Implications**

Despite the limitations mentioned above of this small-scale study, it is hoped that the findings about the immersion students in this research can inform academics and colleagues of the views of these students. On the school level, teachers teaching first year immersion students can understand their difficulties more and facilitate them more in developing their strategies and nurturing their positive attitudes. On the territory level, perhaps more students can be admitted to the immersion programmes and have the chance of getting the type of positive school experience as described by the subjects in this study. On the government level, the policy-makers of the issue of medium of instruction in Hong Kong can refer to the first-hand experience of these students and consider

the policy from the point of view of pupils on the immersion programme.

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## **Appendix 1 Questionnaire**

The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out how the students of this school feel about using English as the medium of instruction. The result of the questionnaire will only be used for research purposes. All material will be used anonymously and nobody except the researcher will see what you write. Your cooperation in answering the questionnaire is most appreciated.

Please answer the following questions on your own. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. Please follow the examples and indicate the answer which you think is appropriate. Return the questionnaire to your teacher at the end of the lesson. Thank you!

**Part A**

**甲部**

**Personal Particulars 個人資料**

Please tick the appropriate item 請在適當的空格內加上 '✓' 號：

- a. Age 年齡: 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐
- b. Sex 性別: F ☐ M ☐
- c. Form 級別: 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐

d. Residential District 住所地區:

- Sai Wan Ho 西灣河 ☐
- Shau Kei Wan 筲箕灣 ☐
- Chai Wan 柴灣 ☐
- Siu Sai Wan 小西灣 ☐
- Tai Koo Shing 太古城 ☐
- Quarry Bay 鰂魚涌 ☐
- North Point 北角 ☐
- Fortress Hill 炮台山 ☐
- Others 其他 ☐ Please specify(請註明) \_\_\_\_\_

e. Type of Housing 住所種類:

- Public 公共屋邨 ☐
- Private 私人樓宇/屋苑 ☐

f. Have you lived outside Hong Kong for more than six months?

你是否曾在本港以外的地區居住六個月或以上？

- Yes 是 ☐
- No 否 ☐

If yes, please specify the country:

如果「是」的話，請註明居住的國家：

- China 中國 ☐
- Canada 加拿大 ☐
- U.S.A. 美國 ☐
- U.K. 英國 ☐
- Others: 其他: ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

g. What was your position in the examination last term?

你上學期考試的名次是：

- 1—50 ☐
- 51—100 ☐
- 101—150 ☐
- 151—206 ☐

## Part B

### 乙部

For Q.1-Q.12, the answers are in five boxes indicating the frequency. Tick the box you think that applies to you.

第 1 至 12 題有 5 個方格顯示不同的頻度。請在適當的空格內加上 '✓' 號。

Example 例子:

	Always 總是	Often 經常	Sometimes 間中	Seldom 很少	Never 從不
How often do you watch TV? 你多久一次看電視?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. How often do you speak to your parents in English? 你多久一次用英語跟父母說話?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. How often do you speak to your classmates in English? 你多久一次用英語跟同學說話?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. How often do you speak to your teachers in English? 你多久一次用英語跟老師說話?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. How often do you watch English TV programmes? 你多久一次看英語電視節目?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. How often do you read English magazines? 你多久一次看英文雜誌?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. How often do you listen to English songs? 你多久一次聽英文歌曲?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. How often do you speak to your parents in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟父母說話?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. How often do you speak to your classmates in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟同學說話?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. How often do you speak to your teachers in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟老師說話?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



- |   |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 10. How often do you watch Cantonese TV programmes?<br>你多久一次看廣東話電視節目？ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. How often do you read Chinese magazines<br>你多久一次看中文雜誌？            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. How often do you listen to Cantonese songs?<br>你多久一次聽廣東話歌曲？       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

### Part C

#### 丙部

For Q.1-Q.20, there are some statements. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree by ticking the boxes.

你是否同意以下第 1 至 20 題的句子？請在適當的空格內加上 '✓' 號。

Example 例子:

- |  | Strongly Agree<br>極同意    | Agree<br>同意                         | No Opinion<br>沒意見        | Disagree<br>不同意          | Strongly Disagree<br>極不同意 |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Hong Kong students are more diligent than Western students.<br>香港學生較西方的學生勤奮用功。                     | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>  |
| 1. I like learning English.<br>我喜歡學習英文。  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>  |
| 2. I am afraid the other students will laugh at me if I speak in English.<br>如果我說英語的話，我擔心其他同學會取笑我。 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>  |
| 3. I am very happy to study at an English medium school.<br>在英文中學讀書，我十分高興。                         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>  |
| 4. English is much more difficult than Chinese.<br>學習英文較中文困難。                                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>  |
| 5. My parents are very happy that I study at an English medium school.<br>我的父母很高興我在英文中學讀書。         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>  |

6. Students from an English medium school are cleverer than students from a Chinese medium school.  
讀英文中學的學生是較讀中文中學的學生聰明的。
7. Most of my friends like to study in an English medium school.  
我大部分朋友喜歡在英文中學讀書。
8. English is very important to the people of Hong Kong.  
英文對香港人十分重要。
9. I prefer to study in a Chinese medium school.  
我較喜歡在中文中學讀書。
10. If my teachers speak in Cantonese, I can understand more.  
如果我的老師說廣東話，上課時我會較明白。
11. English is useful to me if I travel overseas.  
如果我要到外地，英文是很有用的。
12. My parents try to help me with my English.  
我的父母嘗試幫助我學習英文。
13. My friends who study in Chinese medium schools have happier school lives.  
我那些讀中文中學的朋友有較愉快的校園生活。
14. Chinese lessons are more interesting than the other lessons.  
中文課較其他科目的課有趣。
15. I can get a better job if my English is better.  
如果我的英文較好，我就能夠找到一份較好的工作。

16. My parents think that I can get a better job if my English is better.  
我的父母認為如果我的英文較好，我就能夠找到一份較好的工作。  
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
17. Putonghua is more important to Hong Kong than English.  
在香港，普通話較英文重要。  
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
18. English is important for me because I need it for my future studies.  
英文對我很重要，因為我升學時需要良好的英文能力。  
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
19. My school is better than the Chinese medium schools.  
我的學校較中文中學好。  
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
20. I think that learning English is boring.  
我覺得學習英文很沉悶。  
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

#### Part D

丁部

Please tick your choice.

請在適當的空格內加上 '✓' 號。

- a. How do you feel about studying in an English medium school?  
在英文中學讀書，你覺得怎樣？

Very happy	很快樂	<input type="checkbox"/>
Happy	快樂	<input type="checkbox"/>
No particular feeling	沒什麼特別	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unhappy	不快樂	<input type="checkbox"/>
Very unhappy	很不快樂	<input type="checkbox"/>

- b. How much English do your teachers use during the lessons (excluding Chinese lessons)?  
除了中文課外，你的教師在課堂內使用多少英語？

91-100%	<input type="checkbox"/>
81-90%	<input type="checkbox"/>
61-80%	<input type="checkbox"/>
41-60%	<input type="checkbox"/>
21-40%	<input type="checkbox"/>
1-20%	<input type="checkbox"/>

- c. How much English do you prefer your teachers to use during the lessons (excluding Chinese lessons)?

除了中文課外，你較喜歡你的教師在課堂內使用多少英語？

91-100%	<input type="checkbox"/>
81-90%	<input type="checkbox"/>
61-80%	<input type="checkbox"/>
41-60%	<input type="checkbox"/>
21-40%	<input type="checkbox"/>
1-20%	<input type="checkbox"/>

- d. How do you think of yourself?

你會怎樣形容自己的身份？

a Chinese	一個中國人	<input type="checkbox"/>
a Hong Kong Chinese	一個香港中國人	<input type="checkbox"/>
a Hong Konger	一個香港人	<input type="checkbox"/>

- e. Do your parents speak English?

你的父母說英語嗎？

Not at all	絕不	<input type="checkbox"/>
A little bit	少許/一點點	<input type="checkbox"/>
Some	間中	<input type="checkbox"/>
Always	時常	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fluently	非常流利	<input type="checkbox"/>

- f. Do you think you can speak English?

你認為你能說英語嗎？

Not at all	絕不	<input type="checkbox"/>
A little bit	少許/一點點	<input type="checkbox"/>
Some	間中	<input type="checkbox"/>
Always	時常	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fluently	非常流利	<input type="checkbox"/>

問卷完  
多謝合作!

## **Appendix 2 Questionnaire Results**

### **(a) Percentages of item responses**

#### **Part A**

#### **甲部**

#### **Personal Particulars 個人資料**

Total number of responses=201

a.	Age 年齡:	12	46.5%	b.	Sex 性別:	F	50.7%
		13	43.1%			M	49.3%
		14	7.9%				
		15	2.0%				
		16	0.5%				

#### **d. Residential District 住所地區:**

Sai Wan Ho	西灣河	12.8%
Shau Kei Wan	筲箕灣	18.7%
Chai Wan	柴灣	15.8%
Siu Sai Wan	小西灣	8.4%
Tai Koo Shing	太古城	6.4%
Quarry Bay	鯽魚涌	15.3%
North Point	北角	12.8%
Fortress Hill	炮台山	1.5%
Others	其他	8.4%

#### **e. Type of Housing 住所種類:**

Public	公共屋邨	30.0%
Private	私人樓宇/屋苑	70.0%

#### **f. Have you lived outside Hong Kong for more than six months?**

你是否曾在本港以外的地區居住六個月或以上？

Yes	是	23.2%
No	否	76.8%

If yes, please specify the country:

如果「是」的話，請註明居住的國家：

China	中國	87.2%
Canada	加拿大	4.3%
U.S.A.	美國	4.3%
U.K.	英國	0.0%
Others:	其他：	4.3%

g. What was your position in the examination last term?

你上學期考試的名次是：

1—50	25.7%
51—100	26.2%
101—150	25.2%
151—206	22.8%

## Part B

### 乙部

	Always 總是	Often 經常	Sometimes 間中	Seldom 很少	Never 從不
1. How often do you speak to your parents in English? 你多久一次用英語跟父母說話？	0.0%	8.4%	20.2%	49.8%	21.7%
2. How often do you speak to your classmates in English? 你多久一次用英語跟同學說話？	2.5%	14.3%	51.7%	29.1%	2.5%
3. How often do you speak to your teachers in English? 你多久一次用英語跟老師說話？	9.4%	47.3%	37.4%	5.9%	0.0%
4. How often do you watch English TV programmes? 你多久一次看英語電視節目？	2.5%	15.3%	44.8%	34.5%	3.0%
5. How often do you read English magazines? 你多久一次看英文雜誌？	1.0%	5.0%	31.3%	44.8%	17.9%
6. How often do you listen to English songs? 你多久一次聽英文歌曲？	10.4%	26.2%	34.2%	22.8%	6.4%
7. How often do you speak to your parents in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟父母說話？	72.4%	25.6%	0.5%	1.0%	0.5%
8. How often do you speak to your classmates in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟同學說話？	64.0%	33.0%	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%

9.	How often do you speak to your teaches in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟老師說話？	14.3%	39.9%	38.4%	6.9%	0.5%
10.	How often do you watch Cantonese TV programmes? 你多久一次看廣東話電視節目？	61.1%	32.0%	4.9%	2.0%	0.0%
11.	How often do you read Chinese magazines 你多久一次看中文雜誌？	30.5%	30.0%	23.6%	12.3%	3.4%
12.	How often do you listen to Cantonese songs? 你多久一次聽廣東話歌曲？	38.9%	33.0%	17.2%	9.9%	1.0%

## Part C

### 丙部

	Strongly Agree 極同意	Agree 同意	No Opinion 沒意見	Disagree 不同意	Strongly Disagree 極不同意
1. I like learning English. 我喜歡學習英文。	15.4%	57.2%	23.9%	2.5%	1.0%
2. I am afraid the other students will laugh at me if I speak in English. 如果我說英語的話,我擔心其他同學會取笑我。	1.5%	11.9%	26.7%	39.6%	20.3%
3. I am very happy to study at an English medium school. 在英文中學讀書,我十分高興。	26.7%	44.1%	24.3%	3.0%	2.0%
4. English is much more difficult than Chinese. 學習英文較中文困難。	10.0%	38.3%	18.4%	24.9%	8.5%
5. My parents are very happy that I study at an English medium school. 我的父母很高興我在英文中學讀書。	51.2%	36.9%	8.9%	2.5%	0.5%
6. Students from an English medium school are cleverer than students from a Chinese medium school. 讀英文中學的學生是較讀中文中學的學生聰明的。	7.4%	18.2%	37.9%	28.6%	7.9%
7. Most of my friends like to study in an English medium school. 我大部分朋友喜歡在英文中學讀書。	20.2%	33.0%	28.1%	16.7%	2.0%
8. English is very important to the people of Hong Kong. 英文對香港人十分重要。	55.2%	37.9%	5.4%	1.0%	0.5%
9. I prefer to study in a Chinese medium school. 我較喜歡在中文中學讀書。	3.9%	6.9%	48.3%	30.0%	10.8%
10. If my teachers speak in Cantonese, I can understand more. 如果我的老師說廣東話,上課時我會	21.2%	42.9%	25.6%	7.4%	3.0%



較明白。

11. English is useful to me if I travel overseas. 如果我要到外地，英文是很有用的。	68.0%	28.1%	2.5%	1.0%	0.5%
12. My parents try to help me with my English. 我的父母嘗試幫助我學習英文。	22.4%	40.8%	22.4%	10.0%	4.5%
13. My friends who study in Chinese medium schools have happier school lives. 我那些讀中文中學的朋友有較愉快的校園生活。	7.4%	20.2%	44.8%	21.2%	6.4%
14. Chinese lessons are more interesting than the other lessons. 中文課較其他科目的課有趣。	3.4%	14.8%	41.9%	32.0%	7.9%
15. I can get a better job if my English is better. 如果我的英文較好，我就能夠找到一份較好的工作。	48.8%	43.3%	5.4%	2.0%	0.5%
16. My parents think that I can get a better job if my English is better. 我的父母認為如果我的英文較好，我就能夠找到一份較好的工作。	49.3%	40.4%	8.9%	1.5%	0.0%
17. Putonghua is more important to Hong Kong than English. 在香港，普通話較英文重要。	0.5%	3.0%	40.9%	42.9%	12.8%
18. English is important for me because I need it for my future studies. 英文對我很重要，因為我升學時需要良好的英文能力。	47.8%	46.3%	4.9%	1.0%	0.0%
19. My school is better than the Chinese medium schools. 我的學校較中文中學好。	27.2%	32.7%	31.7%	7.4%	1.0%
20. I think that learning English is boring. 我覺得學習英文很沉悶。	1.5%	6.4%	39.9%	33.5%	18.7%

## Part D

### 丁部

- a. How do you feel about studying in an English medium school?

在英文中學讀書，你覺得怎樣？

Very happy	很快樂	20.3%
Happy	快樂	43.1%
No particular feeling	沒什麼特別	34.2%
Unhappy	不快樂	1.5%
Very unhappy	很不快樂	1.0%

- b. How much English do your teachers use during the lessons (excluding Chinese lessons)?

除了中文課外，你的教師在課堂內使用多少英語？

91-100%	31.0%
81-90%	58.1%
61-80%	5.4%
41-60%	1.5%
21-40%	2.5%
1-20%	1.5%

- c. How much English do you prefer your teachers to use during the lessons (excluding Chinese lessons)?

除了中文課外，你較喜歡你的教師在課堂內使用多少英語？

91-100%	9.4%
81-90%	47.3%
61-80%	31.5%
41-60%	6.4%
21-40%	1.0%
1-20%	4.4%

- d. How do you think of yourself?

你會怎樣形容自己的身份？

a Chinese	一個中國人	15.8%
a Hong Kong Chinese	一個香港中國人	36.5%
a Hong Konger	一個香港人	47.8%

- e. Do your parents speak English?

你的父母說英語嗎？

Not at all	絕不	21.7%
A little bit	少許/一點點	41.4%

Some	間中	21.2%
Always	時常	9.4%
Fluently	非常流利	6.4%

f. Do you think you can speak English?  
 你認為你能說英語嗎？

Not at all	絕不	0.0%
A little bit	少許/一點點	13.8%
Some	間中	58.1%
Always	時常	27.1%
Fluently	非常流利	1.0%

(b) Mean of item responses in Part B and C

**Part B**

**乙部**

(Always: 1, Often: 2, Sometimes: 3, Seldom: 4, Never: 5)

	Always 總是	Often 經常	Sometimes 間中	Seldom 很少	Never 從不
1. How often do you speak to your parents in English? 你多久一次用英語跟父母說話？				3.85	
2. How often do you speak to your classmates in English? 你多久一次用英語跟同學說話？			3.15		
3. How often do you speak to your teachers in English? 你多久一次用英語跟老師說話？		2.4			
4. How often do you watch English TV programmes? 你多久一次看英語電視節目？			3.2		
5. How often do you read English magazines? 你多久一次看英文雜誌？				3.74	
6. How often do you listen to English songs? 你多久一次聽英文歌曲？			2.89		
7. How often do you speak to your parents in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟父母說話？	1.32				
8. How often do you speak to your classmates in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟同學說話？	1.39				
9. How often do you speak to your teaches in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟老師說話？		2.39			

10. How often do you watch Cantonese TV programmes? 你多久一次看廣東話電視節目？	1.48
11. How often do you read Chinese magazines 你多久一次看中文雜誌？	2.28
12. How often do you listen to Cantonese songs? 你多久一次聽廣東話歌曲？	2.01

# Part C

## 丙部

(Strongly Agree: 1, Agree: 2, No opinion: 3, Disagree: 4, Strongly disagree: 5)

	Strongly Agree 極同意	Agree 同意	No Opinion 沒意見	Disagree 不同意	Strongly Disagree 極不同意
1. I like learning English. 我喜歡學習英文。		2.16			
2. I am afraid the other students will laugh at me if I speak in English. 如果我說英語的話,我擔心其他同學 會取笑我。				3.65	
3. I am very happy to study at an English medium school. 在英文中學讀書,我十分高興。		2.09			
4. English is much more difficult than Chinese. 學習英文較中文困難。			2.84		
5. My parents are very happy that I study at an English medium school. 我的父母很高興我在英文中學讀書。	1.64				
6. Students from an English medium school are cleverer than students from a Chinese medium school. 讀英文中學的學生是較讀中文中學 的學生聰明的。			3.11		
7. Most of my friends like to study in an English medium school. 我大部分朋友喜歡在英文中學讀書。		2.47			
8. English is very important to the people of Hong Kong. 英文對香港人十分重要。	1.54				
9. I prefer to study in a Chinese medium school. 我較喜歡在中文中學讀書。			3.37		
10. If my teachers speak in Cantonese, I can understand more.		2.28			

<p>如果我的老師說廣東話，上課時我會較明白。</p>		
11. English is useful to me if I travel overseas.	1.38	
<p>如果我要到外地，英文是很有用的。</p>		
12. My parents try to help me with my English.	2.33	
<p>我的父母嘗試幫助我學習英文。</p>		
13. My friends who study in Chinese medium schools have happier school lives.	2.99	
<p>我那些讀中文中學的朋友有較愉快的校園生活。</p>		
14. Chinese lessons are more interesting than the other lessons.	3.26	
<p>中文課較其他科目的課有趣。</p>		
15. I can get a better job if my English is better.	1.62	
<p>如果我的英文較好，我就能夠找到一份較好的工作。</p>		
16. My parents think that I can get a better job if my English is better.	1.63	
<p>我的父母認為如果我的英文較好，我就能夠找到一份較好的工作。</p>		
17. Putonghua is more important to Hong Kong than English.	3.65	
<p>在香港，普通話較英文重要。</p>		
18. English is important for me because I need it for my future studies.	1.59	
<p>英文對我很重要，因為我升學時需要良好的英文能力。</p>		
19. My school is better than the Chinese medium schools.	2.22	
<p>我的學校較中文中學好。</p>		
20. I think that learning English is boring.	3.62	
<p>我覺得學習英文很沉悶。</p>		

(c) Chi-square analysis

1. Chi-square analysis on the relationship between gender and the responses to the questions / statements

( $p < 0.01$  chosen as significant)

**Part B**

	Chi-square	p-value
1. How often do you speak to your parents in English? 你多久一次用英語跟父母說話？	3.019	0.389
2. How often do you speak to your classmates in English? 你多久一次用英語跟同學說話？	3.763	0.439
3. How often do you speak to your teachers in English? 你多久一次用英語跟老師說話？	5.181	0.159
4. How often do you watch English TV programmes? 你多久一次看英語電視節目？	5.955	0.203
5. How often do you read English magazines? 你多久一次看英文雜誌？	4.260	0.372
6. How often do you listen to English songs? 你多久一次聽英文歌曲？	7.034	0.134
7. How often do you speak to your parents in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟父母說話？	7.316	0.120
8. How often do you speak to your classmates in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟同學說話？	3.803	0.149
9. How often do you speak to your teachers in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟老師說話？	4.107	0.392
10. How often do you watch Cantonese TV programmes? 你多久一次看廣東話電視節目？	1.159	0.763
11. How often do you read Chinese magazines 你多久一次看中文雜誌？	12.667	0.013
12. How often do you listen to Cantonese songs? 你多久一次聽廣東話歌曲？	12.661	0.013

**Part C**

	Chi-square	p-value
1. I like learning English. 我喜歡學習英文。	4.009	0.405
2. I am afraid the other students will laugh at me if I speak	2.502	0.644



in English.

如果我說英語的話，我擔心其他同學會取笑我。

3.	I am very happy to study at an English medium school. 在英文中學讀書，我十分高興。	2.204	0.698
4.	English is much more difficult than Chinese. 學習英文較中文困難。	1.976	0.740
5.	My parents are very happy that I study at an English medium school. 我的父母很高興我在英文中學讀書。	4.371	0.358
6.	Students from an English medium school are cleverer than students from a Chinese medium school. 讀英文中學的學生是較讀中文中學的學生聰明的。	13.015	0.011
7.	Most of my friends like to study in an English medium school. 我大部分朋友喜歡在英文中學讀書。	9.115	0.058
8.	English is very important to the people of Hong Kong. 英文對香港人十分重要。	3.736	0.443
9.	I prefer to study in a Chinese medium school. 我較喜歡在中文中學讀書。	1.903	0.754
10.	If my teachers speak in Cantonese, I can understand more. 如果我的老師說廣東話，上課時我會較明白。	1.659	0.798
11.	English is useful to me if I travel overseas. 如果我要到外地，英文是很有用的。	1.221	0.875
12.	My parents try to help me with my English. 我的父母嘗試幫助我學習英文。	1.906	0.753
13.	My friends who study in Chinese medium schools have happier school lives. 我那些讀中文中學的朋友有較愉快的校園生活。	1.434	0.838
14.	Chinese lessons are more interesting than the other lessons. 中文課較其他科目的課有趣。	10.016	0.040
15.	I can get a better job if my English is better. 如果我的英文較好，我就能夠找到一份較好的工作。	1.191	0.080
16.	My parents think that I can get a better job if my English is better. 我的父母認為如果我的英文較好，我就能夠找到一份較好的工作。	1.117	0.773

17. Putonghua is more important to Hong Kong than English. 在香港，普通話較英文重要。	5.024	0.285
18. English is important for me because I need it for my future studies. 英文對我很重要，因為我升學時需要良好的英文能力。	1.119	0.773
19. My school is better than the Chinese medium schools. 我的學校較中文中學好。	4.284	0.369
20. I think that learning English is boring. 我覺得學習英文很沉悶。	3.653	0.455

#### Part D

- a. How do you feel about studying in an English medium school?  
在英文中學讀書，你覺得怎樣？
- Chi-square = 0.653      p-value = 0.957
- b. How much English do your teachers use during the lessons (excluding Chinese lessons)?  
除了中文課外，你的教師在課堂內使用多少英語？
- Chi-square = 7.301      p-value = 0.199
- c. How much English do you prefer your teachers to use during the lessons (excluding Chinese lessons)?  
除了中文課外，你較喜歡你的教師在課堂內使用多少英語？
- Chi-square = 3.669      p-value = 0.598
- d. How do you think of yourself?  
你會怎樣形容自己的身份？
- Chi-square = 0.732      p-value = 0.693
- e. Do your parents speak English?  
你的父母說英語嗎？
- Chi-square = 6.534      p-value = 0.163
- f. Do you think you can speak English?  
你認為你能說英語嗎？
- Chi-square = 0.545      p-value = 0.909

2. Chi-square analysis on the relationship between housing type and the responses to the questions / statements

( $p < 0.01$  chosen as significant)

**Part B**

	Chi-square	p-value
1. How often do you speak to your parents in English? 你多久一次用英語跟父母說話？	6.146	0.105
2. How often do you speak to your classmates in English? 你多久一次用英語跟同學說話？	2.415	0.660
3. How often do you speak to your teachers in English? 你多久一次用英語跟老師說話？	0.402	0.940
4. How often do you watch English TV programmes? 你多久一次看英語電視節目？	1.599	0.809
5. How often do you read English magazines? 你多久一次看英文雜誌？	0.993	0.911
6. How often do you listen to English songs? 你多久一次聽英文歌曲？	1.868	0.760
7. How often do you speak to your parents in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟父母說話？	5.349	0.253
8. How often do you speak to your classmates in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟同學說話？	0.556	0.757
9. How often do you speak to your teachers in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟老師說話？	2.978	0.561
10. How often do you watch Cantonese TV programmes? 你多久一次看廣東話電視節目？	4.921	0.178
11. How often do you read Chinese magazines 你多久一次看中文雜誌？	2.797	0.592
12. How often do you listen to Cantonese songs? 你多久一次聽廣東話歌曲？	2.990	0.559

**Part C**

	Chi-square	p-value
1. I like learning English. 我喜歡學習英文。	1.030	0.905
2. I am afraid the other students will laugh at me if I speak in English. 如果我說英語的話，我擔心其他同學會取笑我。	3.784	0.436

3.	I am very happy to study at an English medium school. 在英文中學讀書，我十分高興。	6.004	0.199
4.	English is much more difficult than Chinese. 學習英文較中文困難。	5.249	0.263
5.	My parents are very happy that I study at an English medium school. 我的父母很高興我在英文中學讀書。	8.967	0.062
6.	Students from an English medium school are cleverer than students from a Chinese medium school. 讀英文中學的學生是較讀中文中學的學生聰明的。	2.724	0.605
7.	Most of my friends like to study in an English medium school. 我大部分朋友喜歡在英文中學讀書。	5.579	0.233
8.	English is very important to the people of Hong Kong. 英文對香港人十分重要。	4.780	0.311
9.	I prefer to study in a Chinese medium school. 我較喜歡在中文中學讀書。	10.267	0.036
10.	If my teachers speak in Cantonese, I can understand more. 如果我的老師說廣東話，上課時我會較明白。	8.878	0.064
11.	English is useful to me if I travel overseas. 如果我要到外地，英文是很有用的。	3.023	0.554
12.	My parents try to help me with my English. 我的父母嘗試幫助我學習英文。	12.033	0.017
13.	My friends who study in Chinese medium schools have happier school lives. 我那些讀中文中學的朋友有較愉快的校園生活。	5.282.	0.260
14.	Chinese lessons are more interesting than the other lessons. 中文課較其他科目的課有趣。	5.127	0.275
15.	I can get a better job if my English is better. 如果我的英文較好，我就能夠找到一份較好的工作。	1.200	0.878
16.	My parents think that I can get a better job if my English is better. 我的父母認為如果我的英文較好，我就能夠找到一份較好的工作。	0.300	0.960
17.	Putonghua is more important to Hong Kong than	2.582	0.630

English.  
在香港，普通話較英文重要。

- |  |       |       |
|--|-------|-------|
| 18. English is important for me because I need it for my future studies.<br>英文對我很重要，因為我升學時需要良好的英文能力。 | 4.780 | 0.189 |
| 19. My school is better than the Chinese medium schools.<br>我的學校較中文中學好。                              | 7.168 | 0.127 |
| 20. I think that learning English is boring.<br>我覺得學習英文很沉悶。  | 1.847 | 0.764 |

#### Part D

- a. How do you feel about studying in an English medium school?  
在英文中學讀書，你覺得怎樣？
- Chi-square = 3.621      p-value = 0.460
- b. How much English do your teachers use during the lessons (excluding Chinese lessons)?  
除了中文課外，你的教師在課堂內使用多少英語？
- Chi-square = 7.425      p-value = 0.191
- c. How much English do you prefer your teachers to use during the lessons (excluding Chinese lessons)?  
除了中文課外，你較喜歡你的教師在課堂內使用多少英語？
- Chi-square = 3.433      p-value = 0.634
- d. How do you think of yourself?  
你會怎樣形容自己的身份？
- Chi-square = 6.510      p-value = 0.039
- e. Do your parents speak English?  
你的父母說英語嗎？
- Chi-square = 19.823      p-value = 0.001
- f. Do you think you can speak English?  
你認為你能說英語嗎？
- Chi-square = 1.206      p-value = 0.751

3. Chi-square analysis on the relationship between position and the responses to the questions / statements

( $p < 0.01$  chosen as significant)

**Part B**

	Chi-square	p-value
1. How often do you speak to your parents in English? 你多久一次用英語跟父母說話？	5.263	0.134
2. How often do you speak to your classmates in English? 你多久一次用英語跟同學說話？	15.602	0.004
3. How often do you speak to your teachers in English? 你多久一次用英語跟老師說話？	4.859	0.182
4. How often do you watch English TV programmes? 你多久一次看英語電視節目？	10.997	0.027
5. How often do you read English magazines? 你多久一次看英文雜誌？	4.844	0.304
6. How often do you listen to English songs? 你多久一次聽英文歌曲？	4.009	0.405
7. How often do you speak to your parents in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟父母說話？	4.949	0.293
8. How often do you speak to your classmates in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟同學說話？	0.078	0.962
9. How often do you speak to your teachers in Cantonese? 你多久一次用廣東話跟老師說話？	2.882	0.578
10. How often do you watch Cantonese TV programmes? 你多久一次看廣東話電視節目？	0.882	0.830
11. How often do you read Chinese magazines 你多久一次看中文雜誌？	3.824	0.430
12. How often do you listen to Cantonese songs? 你多久一次聽廣東話歌曲？	1.817	0.769

**Part C**

	Chi-square	p-value
1. I like learning English. 我喜歡學習英文。	5.213	0.266
2. I am afraid the other students will laugh at me if I speak in English. 如果我說英語的話，我擔心其他同學會取笑我。	2.045	0.727

3.	I am very happy to study at an English medium school. 在英文中學讀書，我十分高興。	5.009	0.286
4.	English is much more difficult than Chinese. 學習英文較中文困難。	10.224	0.037
5.	My parents are very happy that I study at an English medium school. 我的父母很高興我在英文中學讀書。	6.377	0.173
6.	Students from an English medium school are cleverer than students from a Chinese medium school. 讀英文中學的學生是較讀中文中學的學生聰明的。	6.013	0.198
7.	Most of my friends like to study in an English medium school. 我大部分朋友喜歡在英文中學讀書。	3.872	0.424
8.	English is very important to the people of Hong Kong. 英文對香港人十分重要。	4.132	0.388
9.	I prefer to study in a Chinese medium school. 我較喜歡在中文中學讀書。	9.393	0.052
10.	If my teachers speak in Cantonese, I can understand more. 如果我的老師說廣東話，上課時我會較明白。	3.604	0.462
11.	English is useful to me if I travel overseas. 如果我要到外地，英文是很有用的。	3.604	0.462
12.	My parents try to help me with my English. 我的父母嘗試幫助我學習英文。	5.091	0.278
13.	My friends who study in Chinese medium schools have happier school lives. 我那些讀中文中學的朋友有較愉快的校園生活。	9.480	0.050
14.	Chinese lessons are more interesting than the other lessons. 中文課較其他科目的課有趣。	4.507	0.342
15.	I can get a better job if my English is better. 如果我的英文較好，我就能夠找到一份較好的工作。	1.132	0.889
16.	My parents think that I can get a better job if my English is better. 我的父母認為如果我的英文較好，我就能夠找到一份較好的工作。	1.673	0.643
17.	Putonghua is more important to Hong Kong than	1.508	0.825

English.  
在香港，普通話較英文重要。

18. English is important for me because I need it for my future studies. 英文對我很重要，因為我升學時需要良好的英文能力。	2.060	0.560
19. My school is better than the Chinese medium schools. 我的學校較中文中學好。	2.966	0.564
20. I think that learning English is boring. 我覺得學習英文很沉悶。	0.458	0.977

#### Part D

- a. How do you feel about studying in an English medium school?  
在英文中學讀書，你覺得怎樣？
- Chi-square = 3.706      p-value = 0.447
- b. How much English do your teachers use during the lessons (excluding Chinese lessons)?  
除了中文課外，你的教師在課堂內使用多少英語？
- Chi-square = 14.705      p-value = 0.012
- c. How much English do you prefer your teachers to use during the lessons (excluding Chinese lessons)?  
除了中文課外，你較喜歡你的教師在課堂內使用多少英語？
- Chi-square = 13.633      p-value = 0.018
- d. How do you think of yourself?  
你會怎樣形容自己的身份？
- Chi-square = 3.907      p-value = 0.142
- e. Do your parents speak English?  
你的父母說英語嗎？
- Chi-square = 27.285      p-value = 0.000
- f. Do you think you can speak English?  
你認為你能說英語嗎？
- Chi-square = 2.615      p-value = 0.455



### **Appendix 3**

Interview questions:

1. When you knew you were allocated to an English secondary school in Primary 6, how did you feel?
2. How about your friends? Did they feel the same when they were allocated to Chinese medium schools?
3. How about your parents? Do they express any preferences?
4. Do the teachers use English in lessons?
5. In primary school, your teachers used Chinese, now the teachers use English, how do you feel about this?
6. How about other times? Outside lessons, do teachers speak in English?
7. Do you prefer teachers to use Chinese or English?
8. Do you use English with your parents?
9. How about other family members?
10. Do they say English is very important?
11. Do you speak to your friends in English?
12. How about TV, do you watch Chinese or English programmes?
13. Songs? Movies?

14. The internet?
15. How about writing? Do you write more often in Chinese or English?
16. And reading? Reading for leisure?
17. The Radio?
18. Do you want to be good at English?
19. In what way is English useful to you?
20. Do you like to speak to foreigners in English?
21. Do you think English is important in our society?
22. When you answer questions in the lesson, do you use English or Chinese?
23. Do you like assemblies, announcements to be conducted in Chinese or English?
24. Who made the choice of studying in this school?

#### Appendix 4 Interview transcripts

R	As I have said, we will talk about studying in EMI school. The first question is about half a year ago when you were allocated to this school, how did you feel?
C	No special feeling
R	OK, continue.
C	No matter English or Chinese secondary school, it does not matter.
R	OK. It does not matter.
A	I was not allocated. I was transferred. I think EMI school is better.
R	Ah, and you.
D	EMI. You feel superior.
R	Hahaha ... anything else?
B	My result was not so good and I was allocated here. I'm very happy studying in an EMI school.
R	So some are happy, some are OK. Right, how about your friends who are allocated to CMI school?
B	It doesn't matter, as long as they like it. It's OK. Once they were allocated if not, they went for interviews, if OK they changed. If not, they accepted the reality.
R	Right.
D	Usually they would find an EMI school they tried their best to find again.
R	Try to find EMI.
C	It's not the schoolmates who were unwilling but the parents who were unwilling.
R	Schoolmates did not mind, only the parents wanted to find an EMI school.
A	Some of my classmates, when they knew that they were allocated to CMI schools, they cried.
R	Really, so poor!
A	Then they went to look for EMI schools.

R	How about your parents, did they say anything?
D	Comparatively happier.
B	Happier.
	Although the pressure is greater, happier.
R	Your parents helped you to transfer, that means they like you to study here.
A	Yes.
C	My parents thought it did not matter very much.
R	Before you were transferred, when you did not know your result, how did you feel?
A	Very nervous, I went to many schools to apply. Then that day I took the exam at MS College, when I was taking the MTR home, CWC called me and said I was admitted. I went home and rushed back to SWH. A couple of days later MS also called to admit me. Then my mum said EMI school is better
R	Then you came here. How about now? In the lessons, do the teachers use English?
ABCD	Yes
R	But in the primary school, your teachers used Chinese, now teachers use English, how do you feel?
A	I think it is OK because in the past in primary school teachers used English in the English lessons starting from Primary 5 so there is no difficulty.
R	That means the situations are similar.
D	And now the teachers' English is not difficult. Very fundamental English.
R	Therefore, easy to understand.
B	It is not difficult. The words are not difficult. If you don't understand, you can guess and get the meaning.
R	Easy to guess.
C	Because in summer we had attended the Summer English class, so we have been communicating in English. And there is no problem.
R	Yes, it was all English. How about after lesson, do the

	teachers use English?
A	Sometimes
D	Sometimes
C	Rarely
A	Mrs. C does not speak Chinese usually.
B	Except when there is some special announcement then she will use Chinese.
A	Like the time we went to Ping Shan Heritage Trail.
R	What do you think? Do you prefer teachers to speak to you in English or Chinese?
C	During lesson time, it is better to use English after the lessons, using Chinese you feel closer.
B	Using English is better, because when you grow up you need to use English. If you speak more, you can be more fluent. More useful in the future.
R	That means it is better to start early, because there is not much chance outside. And you?
D	After lessons, it is better to use Chinese. Somethings, like common exchange, it is difficult to use English.
R	That means it is easier and clearer to use Canonese.
A	I feel the same, after lessons, Chinese is better, English is for lessons.
R	Do you use English with your parents?
C	Of course use Cantonese.
R	Hahaha.
C	Because when we use English, we don't know how to say it. Our English level is not high so we dare not use English.
D	It's worse if you make a mistake.
R	Hahaha.
B	Also use Chinese, no English.
R	That means English is only needed in lessons. Do you use English with other family members?
All	No. No. No.
R	Do your parents say English is very important?

B	Yes, English is important because if your English is not good, it will be difficult for you to get a job in the future.
C	I think it may not be very important because in the future you may need to work in China and people speak in Putonghua in China. And so may be both are important.
R	So, English and PTH are both important.
B	My mum says English is more important because when you study in university, they will not speak in Cantonese.
R	Yes, universities use English.
D	Comparatively speaking, I think English is more important because if you work in university ... the only merit for Hong Kong is that you can help China to use English to contact the outside world. Both are important.
R	Yes, because English is an international language. Have you tried talking to your friends in English?
B	I've tried once. After function day, I went shopping with my classmates then I don't know I just spoke all in English.
R	If you can, you will speak in English.
D	Usually it is far from...
C	When we speak, sometimes it is mixed with English words.
R	Yes.
A	I speak to my cousin in English.
R	You speak to you cousin in English?
A	He likes to speak in English.
R	So special?
A	He also studies in EMI school and I also, so we speak in English. His parents speak to him in English at home also.
R	How about TV do you watch Chinese or English channels?
B	English Channel.
D	I also watch English Channel.
C	Recently I have watched English Channel.
A	Because if my Dad is at home, he likes to watch English Channel. So, I watch with him.
	After watching, I think the programmes on the English Channel

	are better.
R	That's true.
D	I come to feel that the programmes on the Chinese Channel are meaningless. The foreign ones, the English programmes are more meaningful.
R	What do you like to watch?
B	For the Chinese programmes, I watch the Chinese crime programme, because it is quite unexpected. For the English programmes, I do not watch the drama series but the movies, e.g. if a movie is shown I'll watch it. If there are programmes introducing the animals, I'll watch them.
R	Yes, documentaries.
C	Because there are many documentaries on English Channels and I like to watch documentaries, so I watch the English Channel.
R	Do you listen to songs?
All	Yes.
R	English or Chinese ones?
B	Both English and Chinese.
C	English.
D	More English than Chinese.
A	I seldom listen to songs, what I like is something nobody sings ... I listen to classical music.
R	Classical?
C	I also listen to classical. I think, for the Chinese songs, the lyrics are of low taste. And not clear ... can't hear what they sing.
R	But English you can hear clearly?
B	We can understand, meaningful.
R	And you?
D	English songs ... better ... if you if you ... if you understand what they sing, you have a greater sense of success.
R	How about movies, Chinese or English ones?
B	Western movie.

D	Western movie.
B	Because Hong Kong movies are not meaningful.
A	I agree.
C	I say so too.
R	What have you watched recently?
B	Harry Potter.
D	Catch me if you can.
R	OK, have you read the book as well?
All	Yes.
R	English or Chinese?
C	Reading the English version.
B	Finished with the Chinese version and now reading the English version.
A	Me also.
D	Me the same.
R	Harry Potter is good. Have you used the internet?
All	Yes.
R	Do you go to Chinese websites or English ones?
All	It depends.
C	Depends on what I want to look for.
B	If you're just checking your mail, it does not matter if it's Chinese or English.
R	Yes.
D	For homework, it is always English. For others, may be Chinese.
R	Because we need English information.
All	Yes.
R	How do you feel? Are the English websites more difficult?
B	For Chinese, it is easy to finish reading one website. For English, maybe it takes longer to understand what the website is about.
R	That way!
C	Sometimes when you read the English website, you may need to consult the dictionary while reading it.



R	Yes, and you?
A	I like Chinese websites because the English websites are difficult, it is hard to understand.
D	Because they are for adults.
R	When you write, do you like to write in Chinese or English?
A	English because it is more convenient to write. Chinese words are complicated many strokes to write so I like writing in English.
R	Um ... Chinese is difficult, English letters are easier.
C	I usually write in Chinese because for Chinese you can write what you can think of. For English, you have to think first and then you write.
R	That means you have to translate in English.
D	I also write in English because Chinese has more structures. English is simpler.
R	What do you mean by structures?
D	Less metaphor etc.
R	You mean structure of the essay.
B	I write Chinese and English but write Chinese more because when you don't know the word you need to use the dictionary, it is very troublesome.
R	How about reading in English?
C	Chinese, because you can take in what you read directly. For English, some of the words you don't understand, the words are usually difficult so, I don't like it so much.
A	I also read in Chinese because the contents of Chinese are more interesting. English, there are some adjectives, I don't understand.
D	For English, you need to consult the dictionary, it is troublesome.
R	So, you read Chinese.
B	I also read Chinese, also English but same as him, need to consult the dictionary, it is troublesome.
R	How about easy English books?

All	Easy ones we will read.
R	That means read easy ones.
All	Yes.
R	How about newspaper?
All	Read both Chinese, English.
R	Which one?
C	SCMP.
B	Me too.
A	Standard.
D	I also read Student Standard.
R	What kind of news do you read?
C	Current issues. I don't like to read entertainment news because some newspapers are exaggerating, fictitious reports.
A	I also read current issues because I want to know what is happening outside. I seldom turn on the TV and watch news and so I read the newspapers.
D	I also read current issues especially about education, see what is happening, see what changes there are in education.
R	You want to know when examinations are cancelled!!
All	Hahaha.
B	I read everything except financial news.
R	What Chinese newspapers do you read?
C	Singtao. Oriental Daily.
B	Apple.
B	Singtao.
D	Oriental.
B	How about radio?
ABD	Not much.
C	I listen to the radio on Sunday the programme called "Speak about everthing", RTHK.
R	What is it about?
C	Tao Kit, Lau Tin Chi, they discuss different topics every week. Sometimes it is very funny.
R	OK. Do you like to have better English?

All	Yes.
A	If you go travelling, because English is an international language, you can communicate with people outside and no need to hire a tour guide.
R	Yes, useful for touring.
D	Everytime when you write an essay if you are able to use a new sentence structure you have a great sense of satisfaction.
R	Very happy!
D	Yes.
B	Since many people think English is more difficult, if you can write in English many people think that you are brilliant so writing in English has some advantages.
C	If you learn English better, when other people do not understand, they will ask you. You feel better.
R	Do you think that it is better to study some subjects in Chinese?
A	I don't think so because the explanation in the books (which are in Chinese). I absolutely cannot understand the Chinese explanations, I think English explanation is easier to understand.
B	If you explain in simple English, it is better. Some Chinese words are difficult.
R	Maybe cannot understand the Chinese.
C	Sometimes they give you something you don't know what it is. Particularly IS, because many science symbols e.g. Uranium they give you a Chinese name and you do not understand.
R	I see.
D	I think in the future, if you study IS, if you become a scientist, you will have little chance to do so in Hong Kong. You will work overseas, so, English, you need to have a good foundation. It is better!
R	Do you like to talk to foreigners?
ABC	Yes.
R	Why?

B	It is interesting. If you talk in English, they use accurate English, you can improve yourself. You can develop your language skills. If you only talk to your friends, it's always, er, ...er. You don't know what you say.
R	Haha!
D	The foreigners, they speak, the rhythm they speak and the intonation, it is difficult to learn, you need to experience it. So I like to ... but it does not really matter.
C	Foreigner's English is English language if you hear how they say it then you can learn it. But the Chinese may not know it.
R	A chance to learn.
A	To speak to a foreigner you need to be better in English. If our English is not good, we cannot understand even if we speak. So we can improve.
R	Have you been talking with foreigners on the internet?
B	No chatting but e-mail.
D	Chatting.
R	Using English?
D	English. I don't know how to type Chinese.
R	Yes, easier to type in English.
C	Now we're taught pen-pals, so we have got several.
R	Pen-pal.
C	I've got one. Use e-mail.
R	Is it?
C	It's fun.
B	But now we have stopped, maybe we are busy now.
A	I've written to people on the net and they asked me to get my address and I do not know how to reply.
R	What address?
A	My home address.
R	It is a bit dangerous.
A	Therefore, I didn't send back.
R	Do you think English is important to the society of Hong Kong?

All	Important.
A	Most important.
C	We were ruled by Britain in the past, so English has a great influence. So fundamentally I think English is very important.
A	I think English is the most important because like when you study in an EMI school, whatever subject you study except Chinese and Putonghua everything is taught in English if your English foundation is not good, it is impossible for you to handle. Therefore, English is the most important.
R	Right.
D	I think most of the development potential of Hong Kong is based on English. The superiority of HK over the other cities is that HK's English is better.
R	If we don't have English our superiority will be gone.
D	Yes.
B	Also many of the government advertisement is about using more English. If you don't speak English, you can only have temporary jobs. Hard jobs etc.
R	Right, they say if English is not good, you'll lose the chance.
R	When the teacher asks a question, do you answer in English or Chinese?
All	English.
C	There's no reason that others ask questions in English and you answer in Chinese. It is weird.
R	Some students do ...
B	Unless you don't know like the terms in IS you don't know how to say. Maybe maybe you request to speak in Chinese.
R	Um ... OK.
D	English is better.
R	How about discussions?
C	Both Chinese and English.
B	Chinese and English.

D	It is difficult to understand your classmates' English.
All	Hahaha!
C	We start with speaking in Chinese.
A	There is some problem in organizing.
D	It means we cannot come together.
B	Sometimes the translation may be wrong, the pronunciation may be wrong.
R	Have you done other things to improve your English?
B	I'd like to. I'd like to find out about the courses of going abroad like the exchange programme in summer.
R	Summer exchange programmes, I can give you the information.
C	I'd like to be on an exchange programme but I'm afraid of travelling by plane. I've got air-sick. I'll vomit.
B	Me too.
R	Then choose some countries that are nearer e.g. Australia.
B	If you can sleep the moment you get on the plane, it is better.
D	I think it's OK because when I was promoted from P4 to P5 and P5 to P6, I went for two years both times to England and it's OK.
R	You don't get air sick.
D	I won't get air sick but there's something you will be homesick.
All	Hahaha.
R	How long were you on the programme?
D	About three weeks.
R	You went when you were so young.
D	Yes.
R	And you?
A	Same as they when flying on the aeroplane, I do not get dizzy or sick. But I am so scared that I have to clutch the armrest. And then I hold it so hard and my mum said I am over-nervous.
R	It's scary because you don't take it often.
A	It's because I read the newspaper too often many air-accidents, air-crashes and the 911 incident made me fear.

R	Have you joined other English learning programmes?
C and B	The one in school.
D	The one on Saturday.
R	How was it?
C	Very exciting.
A and B	Very funny.
D	They played CDs.
C	The teacher's English is very good.
B	He's fast and accurate.
D	I absolutely feel that I have learnt a lot the rhythm he speaks particularly because he is black, the way he speaks, the feeling is great.
R	The feeling is great?
D	Yes, very good.
C	And we can hear clearly and we can understand.
R	It sounds great.
B	But he is strict.
R	That's good.
C	So, nobody is messing around.
B	Right.
R	How about announcements, do you prefer English or Cantonese?
C	It doesn't matter because Cantonese you can understand, English you can understand too. Even if there are one or two words you do not understand, you can guess the meaning.
B	If there are some important announcements, it is better to use Chinese. You can understand faster.
R	The important and urgent ones should be in Chinese.
B	Yes.
A	It's OK with me, English or Chinese is OK because the English used is not difficult. I can understand what they say.
D	I feel ... I don't mind ... but it must not be shifting from Cantonese to English and to Cantonese.
R	Who made the choice of entering this school?

B	My mum decided ... but I also liked this school ... my whole family liked this school, so we chose this school.
R	You live very near? You like this school.
B	No, Chai Wan.
R	OK, your turn!
C	I have a brother who studies here so I ... he thinks this school is good ... so I chose this school.
R	Um.
A	My mum said that there is a school, CWCC in Sai Wan Ho, many people say it is a good school. So, we chose this school.
R	"Good", is it because it is EMI?
A	Yes and mum says the discipline is better than St. M's and C. So, I changed to this school.
R	You have brothers or sisters?
A	No.
R	Only child?
A	Yes.
D	They thought about it. I did not care. And also in my last assessment in primary school I did not do well, so my mum told me not to choose the high risk ones. It is easier to enter this one.
R	OK.
D	Easier to enter.
R	You're also the only child?
D	No, I have a sister. She studies in St. P's Convent and she is now studying in university in the UK.
R	Are you going to the UK too?
D	Yes in Easter they will go and find a school for me.
R	So, you're leaving?
D	Don't know but maybe leave before Form 2.
R	Other students also left after F.2. No wonder you like English so much.
D	Yes, that's why I am brushing up my English. Yes.



R	You'd better learn more Chinese, if not, you will forget.
D	I don't know. In primary school, my Chinese was quite good.
B	When you write farewell cards, write in Chinese!
A	But now my Chinese has dropped while my English has improved. I don't know why.
R	What is your primary school?
D	WK Primary School.
B	Buddhist Primary School.
C	I'm also from Buddhist Primary School.
R	Are you from the same class?
B and C	We were from the same school. We sat next to each other.
A	St. M. P. S.
R	In N.P.?
A	Yes.
R	And you?
D	Quarry Bay.
B	Chai Wan.
C	Kornhill.
C	I can walk to school.
R	Do you call your friends after school?
A	I seldom except something I don't understand. I have to ask, only when it is absolutely necessary.
C	Usually others call me, I seldom call others.
R	Why?
C	They ask me about homework, about minor things.
D	He is first in form.
R	Ah, yes! And you?
D	Seldom, seldom.
B	He plays ICQ.
D	No, not very often, not many people look for me. I search for others more than they do.
R	And you?
B	Ask about homework and sometimes talk.
R	Use English or Chinese?

D	English.
B	He types Chinese very slowly.
R	Your ICQ friends are from HK or otherwise?
D	Mostly from SE Asia, most of them are schoolmates of my friends. Others I seldom reply.
R	That means they send you the list.
D	I only talk to people I know.
B	If you don't know them, you can just talk briefly.
R	What can teachers do to help you learn English better?
B	Have more foreign teachers to teach me.
B	Can talk more.
D	The lessons should be more lively. In fact, I know our English teacher, Mr. P, is not very boring, very free and it is good.
B	We can have English Week. We can only speak in English for the whole week.
C	The teachers, if they talk to us more in English.
R	OK, that's all for the moment.

